

The Early History of Tibet. From Chinese Sources

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ART. XVIII.—*The Early History of Tibet. From Chinese Sources.* By S. W. BUSHELL, M.D., Physician to H.B.M. Legation, Peking.

INTRODUCTION.

TIBET, according to the Chinese, was inhabited by many scattered tribes up to the end of the sixth century, when they first heard of the establishment of a kingdom in their midst by Luntsansolungtsan, who, according to the 'Researches' of Ma Tuanlin, during the period K'aihuang, (A.D. 581–600) of the Sui Dynasty, extended his dominion on the south-west as far as P'olomên (Brâhmaṇa—Central India), till at the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty their army numbered 100,000 warriors, and they became a powerful state. He is probably the Luntsansu of the genealogy on p. 443. It was his son Ch'itsunglungtsan who sent the first mission to the Emperor T'aitsung of the T'ang Dynasty in 634, and was given a Chinese princess in marriage in 641.

The kingdom is described in the History of the T'ang under the name T'ufan. The second character *fan*, as first shown by Remusat, ought properly to be read *po*, being written with a phonetic which has the two sounds *fan* and *po*. This is confirmed by the inscription of the year 822 given in the Appendix, in which the native Tibetan name *Bod* is rendered in Chinese by the same character *Fan*. T'ufan is therefore equivalent to T'ubod. In the Sung History T'ufan is still used, but in the History of the Liao,

a Tatar dynasty reigning at the same time over the north of China, it is recorded that the Emperor Taotsung (1055-1100) gave a princess to be married to the son of the sovereign of T'upot'ê. During the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty both Chinese forms T'ufan and T'upot'ê were used, the last being equivalent to T'ubod, which is still the Mongol name of Tibet. During the Ming Dynasty the country was generally called Wussütsang, a name which occurs also in the preceding Yuan History, and which is compounded of the native names of the two principal provinces, *Dbus* and *Gtsang*; the modern name Weitsang is the same, the final *s* being mute in the Lhasa pronunciation of the present day. The names of Hsi (Western) Tsang and Hsi Fan are also used in Chinese books, and the natives are called T'upot'ê and Tangkut'ê. The European name of Tibet is derived from Mohammedan sources, and occurs in the Eastern Travels of the Arab merchant Soleyman, published according to M. Reinaud in 851. Marco Polo uses the form Tebet, and devotes two chapters to its description.

The accompanying paper is a literal translation from the official histories of the T'ang dynasty, which was founded in 618, and the notes are mainly derived from the same. There are two histories of this dynasty, distinguished as old and new, which constitute Nos. 16, 17, of the series of twenty-four dynastic histories. These histories are compiled from the records of events written at the time of their occurrence by the officials of the State Historiographer's office, an important department of the Hanlin College of Literature, the duties of which are the custody and preparation of the historical archives, and the composition of official biographies of all eminent public servants, as well as a relation of the foreign states which send tributary missions. These archives are collected after the fall of the dynasty, and given to a commission appointed by the emperor of the new dynasty to be arranged after a uniform model. They are generally divided into three sections: (1) 'Imperial Records,' containing a succinct chronicle of the several emperors; (2) a series of 'Memoirs' on chronology, rites, music, juris-

prudence, political economy, state sacrifices, astronomy, elemental influences, geography, government offices, vehicles and costume, literature and bibliography; (3) 'Narratives' of the lives of persons of eminence, and of what is known about foreign nations of the period. Should the dynasty last long, the archives are often compiled into book form by officials during its reign.

The Old T'ang History was first compiled by Wei Ching in 110 books, extending from the beginning of the dynasty to the period K'aiyuan (713-741). Wei Shu copied this with additions, cutting out the biographies of corrupt ministers. The life of the emperor Sutsung (756-762) was written by one of the historiographers, and the various sections written up to date by others till it comprised 130 books. As we have it now it was compiled by a commission, headed by Liu Chü, appointed by the founder of the After Chin dynasty, and completed in 200 books about the middle of the tenth century. After the period Ch'angch'ing (821-824), when the dynasty began to decline, the historiographers neglected their duties, and the history had to be completed from miscellaneous sources. During the Sung dynasty it was thought desirable to have a more perfect history, and a new commission was appointed to remodel the work about the middle of the eleventh century, the result of which was the New T'ang History in 255 books, written chiefly by Ouyang Hsiu and Sung Ch'i.

These two voluminous compilations circulated together, each having its school of admirers, until the middle of the last century, when the Emperor Ch'ienlung happily had the two combined, the one being appended to the other as a running commentary in small type, and note being made of any discrepancy. This edition is in 260 books, of which the 256th and 257th are devoted to Tibet. The text of this is from the Old History, and is in large type, while the paragraphs from the New History are in smaller type, and the two sources are similarly distinguished in the translation.

This lengthened introduction is intended to show the authenticity of the narrative, most of the events having been

recorded at the time, so that the relation as far as it goes is contemporary. The names of the sovereigns have a general resemblance to those given in the books on Tibetan history : the fifth on the list, for example, Ch'ilisunglichtsan, who died in 755, being about as near as Chinese cumbrous nomenclature would allow to Khri srang lde btsan, who, according to Csoma de Korös' list, was born in 728, *ch'i* having been formerly *k'i*, and *l* being used for *r*, a letter absent from the Chinese syllabary. There are so many discrepancies, however, in the tables given by different authors, that it is difficult to find a correct standard for comparison ; for instance, in Georgii Alphabetum Tibetanum, Schmidt's translation of Ssanang Setzen, Csoma de Korös' Tibetan Grammar and Emil Schlagintweit's Könige von Tibet, the genealogical lists differ very widely both from each other and from the dates of the T'ang Histories. These tables are all derived from Buddhist sources, where chronology appears always to be deemed of minor importance. A table of some of the principal dates given in the paper may perhaps be useful for future comparison.

	A.D.
<i>Ch'itsunglungtsan</i> sent the first mission to China	634
Married to the Chinese Princess Wênch'êng	641
Invaded Central India	648
<i>Ch'ilipapu</i> , grandson of <i>Ch'itsunglungtsan</i> , succeeded...	650
<i>Ch'inushsilung</i> , son of <i>Ch'ilipapu</i> , succeeded, aged 8 ...	679
Princess Wênch'êng died	680
The regent <i>Ch'inling</i> was attacked and killed himself.....	699
<i>Ch'lisotsan</i> , son of <i>Ch'inushsilung</i> , who was killed on an expedition against Nepâl and India, succeeded, aged 7	705
Married to the Chinese Princess of Chinch'êng...	710
Treaty concluded with China recorded on stones, which were afterwards erected on the frontier at Ch'ihling.....	730
Princess of Chinch'êng died.....	741
<i>Ch'ilisunglichtsan</i> died	755

<i>Sohsilungliehtsan</i> , son of Ch'ilisulungliehtsan, succeeded	755
After conquest of N. W. China, W. of Lung Mountains, made a sworn treaty at Ch'angan ...	756
Took Ch'angan, the capital of China	763
<i>Ch'ilitsan</i> reigning. A mission of peace sent from China	780
Sworn treaty concluded at Ch'ingshuihsien	783
Ceremony at P'ingliang treacherously broken through	787
<i>Tsuchihchien</i> , eldest son of Ch'ilitsan, succeeded.....	797
Died the next year. Succeeded by second son of Ch'ilitsan.....	798
The Tsanp'u died	804
<i>K'olik'otsu</i> , who reigned under the title Yit'ai, succeeded	816
Sworn ceremony at Ch'angan.....	821
Treaty ratified in Tibet and monument erected...	822
<i>Tamo</i> (Dharma), brother of K'olik'otsu, succeeded.....	838
On Tamo's death <i>Ch'ilihu</i> , of the house of Lin, a nephew of his consort, was set up, and civil war ensued	842
<i>Shangk'ungje</i> , who had declared himself <i>tsanp'u</i> , surrendered several cities and passes to China	849
<i>Shangk'ungje</i> killed in battle by the Ouigour Turks	866

T'ANG HISTORY. BOOKS 256, 257.

T'ufan is situated eight thousand li west of Ch'angan(1). It was formerly, during the Han dynasty, the territory of the Western Ch'iang. The original source from which the natives sprang is unknown.

Formerly the Western Ch'iang(2) comprised a hundred and fifty tribes, scattered over the lands of Ho, Huang, Chiang, and Min. Included among them were the Fa Ch'iang, and T'angmao, who, however, had then no intercourse with China. They were settled on the west of the Hsichih river. Their ancestor (founder of the dynasty), named Hut'ip'usuyeh, was a powerful warrior, and most politic, and by degrees united the different Ch'iang tribes, and ruled over their territory. *Fan* resembles *fa* in sound, hence his descendants acquired the name of T'ufan, their surname being P'usuyeh.

Some say that they are descended from T'ufa Liluku of the Southern Liang Dynasty(3). Liluku had a son named

Fanni. When Liluku died, Fanni was still a boy, and his younger brother Jut'an succeeded to the throne. He appointed Fanni governor of Anhsi. During the After Wei dynasty, in the first year of the period Shênjui (A.D. 414), Jut'an was overthrown by Ch'ifuch'ihp'an, of the Western Ch'in dynasty, and Fanni collected the remnant of the people, and submitted to Tsuch'ü Mêngsun, by whom he was appointed Governor of Linsung (Kanchou). When Mêngsun in turn was slain, Fanni at the head of his people fled westwards across the Yellow River, and beyond Chishih founded a state in the midst of the Ch'iang, with territory extending over a thousand li. Fanni was celebrated for his power and wisdom, and all the Ch'iang tribes placed themselves under his rule, and, being governed mildly and justly, ran to his standard as it were to market. Then he changed his surname to Sup'uyeh, and adopted T'u-fu as the name of his state, which became afterwards corrupted into T'ufan. His descendants increased in number and power, and continued to acquire land and fame till their territory became of vast extent. During the Chou and Sui dynasties (557-618), the Ch'iang tribes still blocked the way, and they did not communicate with China.

The natives style their sovereign *tsanp'u*; the ministers of state, called great *lun* and small *lun*, are appointed to control state affairs.

They call a famous hero *tsan*, and man *p'u*, hence the title of the sovereign, *tsanp'u*(4). The consort of the *tsanp'u* is styled *momêng*. The officials include one chief minister, called *lunch'ai*, with one assistant, called *lunch'aihulang*, who are also styled great *lun* and small *lun*; and one commander-in-chief, called *Hsiapiench'êp'u*. Also a chief minister of the interior, called *Nanglunch'êp'u*, also called *Lunmangjê*, an assistant minister, *Nanglunmilingp'u*, and a lesser minister, *Nanglunch'ung*. Also a chief consulting minister, called *Yuhanpoch'êp'u*, an assistant, *Yuhanmilingp'u*, and a lesser minister, *Yuhanpoch'ung*. These have the control of state affairs, and are styled collectively *Shanglunch'êp'ui'uchü*.

They have no written characters. Notched pieces of wood and knotted strings are used in covenants. Although there are officers, they are not constantly employed, being only appointed when there is stress of business. For collecting warriors they use gold arrows.

They use a gold arrow seven inches long as a sign of office. There is a post

station every hundred li. If the war be important the courier carries also on his breast a silver hawk, if of urgent importance several of these hawks.

When the country is invaded the smoke-fires are lighted, there being a tower every hundred li.

Their punishments are most severe, and even for small crimes the eyes are scooped out, and the nose cut off, or stripes inflicted with a leather whip. They differ according to caprice, there being no fixed code. They imprison men in holes several tens of feet under the ground, and release them only after two or three years.

When they entertain envoys from foreign countries, they always bring out a yak for the guest himself to shoot, the flesh of which is afterwards served at the banquet.

The officers are assembled once every year for the lesser oath of fealty. They sacrifice sheep, dogs, and monkeys, first breaking their legs and then killing them, afterwards exposing the intestines and cutting them into pieces. The sorcerers having been summoned, they call on the gods of heaven and earth, of the mountains and rivers, of the sun, moon, stars, and planets, saying: "Should your hearts become changed, and your thoughts disloyal, the gods will see clearly and make you like these sheep and dogs." Every three years there is a grand ceremony, during which all are assembled in the middle of the night on a raised altar, on which are spread savoury meats. The victims sacrificed are men, horses, oxen, and asses, and prayers are offered in this form: "Do you all with one heart and united strength cherish our native country. The god of heaven, and the spirit of the earth, will both know your thoughts, and if you break this oath they will cause your bodies to be cut into pieces like unto these victims."

The climate of the country is extremely cold.

With frequent thunder, lightning, wind, and hail. The snow remains, the height of summer being like the springtime of China, and there is always ice in the mountain valleys. There is a cold malaria in the soil which causes the natives to have enlarged spleens, but is not dangerous to life.

They grow no rice, but have black oats, red pulse, barley, and buckwheat. The principal domestic animals are the yak, pig, dog, sheep, and horse. There are flying squirrels, re-

sembling in shape those of our own country, but as large as cats, the fur of which is used for clothes. They have abundance of gold, silver, copper, and tin.

The natives generally follow their flocks to pasture, and have no fixed dwelling-place.

Many live to a great age, a hundred years and upwards. They are commonly clothed in felt and leather. They are fond of painting their faces red. The women gather their hair in a single plait, and coil it round the head. The officers in full costume wear as ornaments—those of the highest rank *sê-sê*(5), the next gold, then gilded silver, then silver, and the lowest copper—which hang in large and small strings from the shoulder, and distinguish the rank of the wearer.

They have, however, some walled cities. The capital of the state is called the city of *Lohsieh*(6).

The *tsanp'u* resides in the *Papu* valley or in the *Loso* valley.

The houses are all flat-roofed, and often reach to the height of several tens of feet. The men of rank live in large felt tents, which are called *fulu*. The rooms in which they live and sleep are filthily dirty, and they never comb their hair nor wash. They join their hands to hold wine, and make plates of felt, and knead dough into cups, which they fill with broth and cream and eat the whole together.

They worship the *yuanti*(7) god, and believe in witches and seers.

They are fond of the doctrine of Buddha, and no important state affairs are settled without consulting the Buddhist monks.

They have no knowledge of the seasons, and barley harvest is reckoned the beginning of the year. Their games are chess and bowls, trumpet-blowing and beating drums. The bow and sword are never separated from the body. They honour the strong and neglect the old, so that mothers bow down to their sons; and sons rule over their fathers, and whether going out or coming in the young men are always in front, the old men placed behind. The general's orders are sternly enforced, and in battle when the front rank is annihilated, the rear rank still presses on.

The armies carry no provision of grain, and live on plunder. The armour and helmet are very strong and cover the whole body, with holes for the eyes only, so that the strongest bow and sharpest sword can hardly do them much harm.

They consider death in war as more honourable than death from disease, and if several generations have been killed in

battle the family is ennobled. If any one turns his back on the foe, they hang a fox's tail on his head, to show that he is as cowardly as a fox, and exhibit him in crowded places as a warning to others. They are extremely ashamed of this, and deem death preferable. When they do homage, the two hands must touch the ground, they bark like dogs, and after rising again prostrate themselves.

When mourning for father or mother, they cut off their hair, paint their faces black, and put on black clothes; as soon as the body has been buried the mourning is put off. When the tsanp'u dies, they bury men with him.

The sovereign has five or six chosen friends among his officers, who are styled *comrades*, and when the sovereign dies all these kill themselves to be buried with him(8).

His clothes, jewels and valuables, the horses he was in the habit of riding, his bow, sword and other weapons, all are buried at the same time. Then upon the grave a large building is erected, and a tumulus of earth thrown up, which is planted with trees as the place for ancestral worship.

After him reigned a sovereign named Hsiahsitungmo; Tungmo begat T'ot'utu; T'utu begat Chiehlishihjo; Chiehli begat P'umungjo; P'umung begat Chüsujo; Chüsu begat Luntsansu; Luntsan begat Ch'itsunglungtsan, also called Ch'isumung, and styled Fuyehshih.

In the 8th year of the period Chênkuan (634) the tsanp'u Ch'itsunglungtsan first sent envoys to the emperor with tribute. Lungtsan was still a minor when he succeeded to the throne. He was by nature fond of war, as well as a clever tactician, and the neighbouring states, the Yangt'ung(9), and other Ch'iang tribes, all went to him to do homage. The emperor T'aitung despatched the envoy Fêng Têhsia on a peaceful mission to him, and he received Têhsia most joyfully. Having heard that the T'uchüeh(10) and T'ukuhun(11) had both been given princesses in marriage, he sent a return mission which accompanied Têhsia on his return, with rich presents of gold and precious things and a respectful letter petitioning for a matrimonial alliance. The emperor refused. When the envoy returned, he reported to Lungtsan: "When we first arrived at court they received us most honourably and promised a princess in marriage, but just then the T'ukuhun Prince happened to come to court and interfered to

break off the negociation. Thereupon we were treated with scant ceremony, and the alliance was declined."

Lungtsan thereupon, together with the Yangt'ung, led the united armies to attack the T'ukuhun. The T'ukuhun were unable to withstand him, and fled to the banks of the Ch'inghai to escape the edge of the sword. The inhabitants and their herds were all carried off by the T'ufan. He next led on his troops, attacked and defeated the Tanghsiang(12), the Pailan(13), and other Ch'iang tribes, and at the head of an army of over 200,000 men, encamped on the western border of Sungchou(14), whence he sent envoys to the emperor, who brought as tribute a suit of gold armour, and said: "We are come to receive the princess." At the same time he announced to his soldiers: "If the great empire refuses to give me a princess in marriage, we will invade and plunder the country." Thereupon they advanced and assaulted Sungchou. The Governor-General Han Wei proceeded with all speed to look after the enemy, but was himself defeated by them, and the inhabitants of the frontier were in great trouble. The emperor T'aitung despatched the President of the Board of Civil Office, Hou Chünchi, as Commander-in-Chief, with three other generals and an army of 50,000 horse and foot, to attack them. The general Niu Chinta led the van from Sungchou, assaulted their camp in the night and killed more than 1,000 men. Lungtsan was greatly alarmed and led his army back.

From the date of his eastern invasion he remained several years without returning. His chief ministers begged him to come back to his own country, but he would not listen to them, whereupon eight killed themselves.

He sent a mission to apologize for his misdeeds, and again begged for an alliance. T'aitung granted it. Lungtsan then sent his minister of state, Lutungtsan, with the presents, offering five thousand ounces of gold, and, besides, several hundred precious articles of value.

In the 15th year of Chênkuan (641), the Emperor gave the Princess Wênch'êng, of the imperial house, in marriage. He appointed the President of the Board of Rites, Taotsung, Prince of Chianghsia, to preside over the ceremony, and he was given special credentials, and escorted the princess to

T'ufan. Lungtsan led his warriors to await her arrival at Pohai, and went himself to receive her at Hoyuan. He received Taotsung most respectfully, with the rites due from a son-in-law. From this time he praised the costume of the great empire, and the perfection of their manners, and was ashamed of the barbarism of his own people. After he had returned to his own country with the princess, he addressed his relatives thus: "Among our ancestors not one has been allied to the sovereign empire, and now that I have been honoured with the gift of a princess of the great T'ang, I esteem myself highly fortunate, and will build a walled city for the princess to proclaim my glory to after generations." Thereupon he built a city, and erected inside the walls a palace for her residence. As the princess disliked their custom of painting their faces red, Lungtsan ordered his people to put a stop to the practice, and it was no longer done. He also discarded his felt and skins, put on brocade and silk, and gradually copied Chinese civilization. He also sent the children of his chiefs and rich men to request admittance into the national schools to be taught the classics, and invited learned scholars from China to compose his official reports to the emperor.

When T'aitsung returned from his expedition to Liaotung, he sent Lutungtsan on a mission of congratulation, who presented this respectful despatch: "The holy Son of Heaven has pacified the four quarters of the world and all the states that the sun and moon shine upon are alike his obedient vassals. When Kaoli (Corea), relying on its great distance, broke off its tributary relations, the Son of Heaven himself led a million warriors across the Liao to chastise it, overthrew its cities and destroyed its armies, and after a few days has returned victorious. The barbarians had but just heard that the imperial chariot had started when the news arrived that it had reached home again. The wild goose flies most swiftly, but not when compared with the speed of the emperor. His slave and unworthy son-in-law rejoicing a hundred-fold above ordinary barbarians, in that the common goose is not unlike the wild goose, has made a gold goose,

and respectfully offers it." This goose was moulded of pure gold, it was seven feet high, and held when full of wine about ten gallons.

In the 22nd year (648) the imperial envoy Wang Yuants'ê(15), who had been sent on a mission to the western countries, was plundered in Chung T'ienchu. The T'ufan sent an army of brave warriors, and accompanied by Yuants'ê attacked T'ienchu and inflicted a great defeat, and despatched envoys who brought to the emperor the news of the victory. Kaotsung had succeeded to the throne. He gave Lungtsan the title of Fuma Tuyü, appointed him Prince of Hsihai, and presented to him two thousand pieces of silk. Lungtsan replied by a letter to the ministers: "The Son of Heaven has just begun to reign, and if any one of his officers is disloyal, I will lead warriors into the country to expel and punish him." He offered also fifteen presents of gold, silver, pearl, and precious things, begging that they might be deposited before the ancestral tablet of the late emperor. Kaotsung praised him, added to his titles that of Tsungwang, and bestowed on him three thousand pieces of variously coloured silks. He then asked for silkworms' eggs, mortars and presses for making wine, and workmen to manufacture paper and ink. Everything was granted, whereupon he had a statue of himself carved in stone to be erected below the gateway of the imperial mausoleum(16).

In the first year of Yunghui (650) Lungtsan died. Kaotsung went into mourning for him, and despatched the general, Hsienyü Ch'ênchi, with special credentials and an autograph sealed letter, to take part in the funeral ceremonies. The son of Lungtsan died early, and his grandson succeeded to the throne with the same title of tsanp'u. At this time he was quite young, and state affairs were controlled by Lutungtsan, whose surname (tribal name) was Chüshih. Although he was ignorant of letters, yet being naturally wise, resolute, strict, and honourable, a brave warrior and skilful general, he made a most successful regent. It was due chiefly to his policy that the T'ufan absorbed the Ch'iang tribes, and became pre-eminent in their native land. When

T'aitsung consented to give in marriage the Princess Wench'eng, it was Lutungtsan who was sent by the tsanp'u to receive her. When he had audience the emperor asked him several questions, and was so pleased with his answers that he treated him with more ceremony than the other foreigners. He also conferred on him the title of chief general of the guards, and gave him in marriage a granddaughter of the Princess-imperial Langya, named Tuan. Lutungtsan declined the alliance, saying: "Your slave has a wife in his own country who was chosen for him by his parents, and he could not bear to turn her away. Moreover, the tsanp'u has not yet seen the princess his bride, and his humble subject could not presume to be married first." T'aitsung was pleased, and wished to be still more gracious, he marvelled at his answers, but yet would not permit him to refuse.

Lutungtsan had five sons; the eldest named Tsanhsijo died young, next came Ch'inling, next Tsanp'o, next Hsitokan, next P'ulun. After the death of Lutungtsan, Ch'inling and his brothers succeeded him in the management of the state.

Afterwards there was a quarrel with the T'ukuhun.

In the third year of Hiench'ing (658), they offered presents, including a gold basin and a gold basket, and begged for a matrimonial alliance. Soon after the T'ukuhun gave in their allegiance to China.

During the periods Lungso and Lintê (661-665) the two nations sent alternate memorials, in which each claimed to be in the right. The Chinese government temporized, and declined to judge between them. The T'ufan were dissatisfied and angry, and led troops to attack the T'ukuhun.

The T'ukuhun chief minister Suhokuai fled to T'ufan, and divulged all their weak points, so that the T'ufan succeeded in destroying his state.

The T'ukuhun were totally defeated, and the Prince of Hoyuan, Muyung Nohopo, with his consort, the Chinese Princess Hunghua, to save their lives, fled to Liangchou, and sent to the emperor the news of their calamities.

The Governor-general of Liangchou was ordered by decree to encamp troops at Liangchou and Shanchou(17), and a large army sent to quell the disturbance. The T'ufan sent an envoy, Lanchungtsung, with a memorial detailing the misdeeds of the T'ukuhun, and the Emperor sent a mission to reprove them, whereupon envoys arrived begging a settlement of the quarrel with the T'ukuhun.

At the same time they asked for the Ch'ihshui(18) territory as pasturage ground for their horses, but it was refused. During the Tsungehang period (668-669), the council deliberated on the question of moving the T'ukuhun people to Liangchou beside the Nanshan. The emperor, wishing to check the invasions of the T'ufan, summoned the ministers of state, Chiang K'o and Yen Lipên, with the general Ch'ipi Holi, to consult as to whether they should first attack the T'ufan. Lipên said: "The people are famished, and war is impossible." Holi said: "The T'ufan country is in the far west, and your servant fears that at the approach of our army they would fly like wild beasts and hide in the mountains, so that it would be impossible to capture and punish them. Next spring when they again attack the T'ukuhun, your servant begs you not to assist the latter so as to induce the T'ufan to doubt our power. They will thus become arrogant, and we will destroy them in one campaign." K'o said: "Not so. The T'ukuhun are now weak, the T'ufan rich and powerful, and to encourage weakness to withstand powerful warriors must lead to a profitless war. If they be not succoured they will be destroyed, and your servant advises the immediate despatch of the imperial army, so that the state may not be lost. We can afterwards consult about future measures." They deliberated without ceasing, but did not move the T'ukuhun.

In the first year of Hsienshêng (670), in the 4th month,

They invaded and destroyed eighteen of the subject ch'ou (outside the frontier), and led the people of Yutien (Khotan) to capture the Chiutzu Pohuan ch'êng(19). Thereupon the four military governments of Anhsi were all given up.

A decree appointed Hsiieh Jênkuei commander-in-chief of the Loso army with two other generals, to lead over 100,000 men to chastise the enemy. The army advanced to the T'afich'uan(20), and was there defeated by the T'ufan chief general, Lunch'inling. Jênkuei and his colleagues were all degraded. The T'ukuhun state was completely annihilated, only Mujung Nohopo, with his relatives and adherents, comprising some thousands of tents, came to offer their allegiance to China, and were removed to Liangchou. From this date the T'ufan, year after year, ravaged the frontier. The Ch'iang tribes of Tangchou and Hsiehou all submitted to them.

A decree appointed Chiangk'o commander-in-chief of the army of Liangchou, to go and punish them, but he died on the way, and his army returned. The T'ufan sent the minister of state, Chungtsung, to the emperor. Chungtsung, as a boy, had been a scholar in the National College, and was well versed in literature. When the emperor received him, he asked, "If the tsanp'u be compared with his grandfather, is he the more talented of the two?" He replied, "In valour and resolution, as well as in good policy, he is not equal, yet he is diligent in the rule of the state, and a subject would not presume to find fault with so excellent a sovereign. Moreover the T'ufan dwell in cold and misty wilds, the natural productions of which are poor and scant, and to the north of

the Wuhai(21) even in the height of summer snow remains. In hot weather they wear cloth, in winter fur. They follow their herds wherever there are water and grass, and in cold weather they spread their round tents within city walls, the furniture and utensils of which do not amount to one ten thousandth part of those used in China. Although the ruler and people are united, all measures are first deliberated by the people, and if advantageous to the nation they are carried out, thus conducing to durability and power." The emperor then said, "The T'ukuhun and T'ufan dynasties were originally allied by marriage, yet when Suhokuai deserted his sovereign, the T'ufan employed him as an officer, and took possession of their territory. When Hsüeh Jenkuai was sent to settle the affairs of Muijung, they also secretly attacked him, and ravaged our Liangchou. How is this?" Chungtsung, bowing his head, replied, "Your servant was commissioned by his sovereign to offer presents, and has no instructions about other subjects." The emperor approved of this answer, but seeing that Chungtsung was not an envoy plenipotentiary, he treated him with less ceremony.

In the 2nd year of Shangyuan (675) they sent the chief minister, Lant'uhunmi, to ask for peace, and also to propose a renewal of friendly relations with the T'ukuhun. The emperor would not listen.

In the 3rd year of Shangyuan (676) they invaded and plundered Shanchou and K'uocho(22), killing and carrying off people and officers.

A decree appointed Hsien, Prince of Chou, with twelve generals under his command, including the President of the Board of Works, and Lien, Prince of Hsiang, with others, to lead armies to chastise them. The two princes were unsuccessful, and the T'ufan advanced and attacked T'iehchou, taking the two district cities, Mikung and Tanling. They also attacked Fuchou, and defeated the general in command. The T'ufan and the Western T'uchüeh united their forces and attacked Anhsi.

In the 3rd year of Yifêng (678), Li Chingyuan was appointed Governor of Shanchou, and sent to take command at Taoho. The bravest of the inhabitants of the provinces of Kuannui and Hotung and of the different cities were enlisted so as to collect resolute warriors without regard to former avocations, and both civil and military officers were bidden to the palace, entertained at a banquet, and sent on to the attack. The governors of Yichou and Chünchou were ordered to lead the soldiers and militia of the provinces of Chiennan and Shannan to assist in the defence. In the autumn of the year Li Chingyuan, accompanied by the President of the Board of Works, Liu Shênli, led on their troops and fought a battle with the T'ufan at the Ch'inghai. The imperial army was desperately beaten and Liu Shênli killed in the fight. Li Chingyuan halted his army, not

daring to go to the rescue. After he had collected his forces he encamped at the Ch'êngfêngling, where a mud creek prevented further advance. The enemy encamped on high ground commanding his position. One of his generals, Heich'ih Ch'angchih, at the head of five hundred fearless warriors, stormed the hostile camp in the night; the enemy were demoralized and thrown into confusion, and over three hundred were trampled to death. Then Chingyuan led back his army to Shanchou. He was degraded to be governor of Hengchou.

In Chiennan province the soldiers and militia built to the south-west of Maochou(23), a new city called Anjung, to defend the frontier, but shortly after the wild Ch'iang guided the T'ufan, who assaulted and took the city and garrisoned it with their own soldiers.

At this time the T'ufan acquired all the territory of the Yangtung, Tunghsiang, and different Ch'iang tribes, so that on the east they touched the chou cities of Liang, Sung, Mao and Chün(24), on the south stretched to P'olomên(25), on the west they had besieged and captured the four military governments Chintzû, Sulo and the rest, while on the north they were bounded by the T'uchueh. Their country extended over more than ten thousand li, and from the Han and Wei dynasties downwards there had been no people among the nations of the west so powerful.

The Emperor Kaotsung, when he received the intelligence of the defeat and death of Shênli and the rest, called a cabinet council to consult on the question of peace or war. Kuo Chêngyi said: "The T'ufan have been a thorn in our side for many years, generals have been commissioned and armies sent in annual succession, so that our soldiers and horses are distressed and our grain and stores exhausted. A punitive invasion would be a vain tax on the strength of our troops, it would be impossible to pursue them to their lair. I beg that only a few troops and militia be sent, enough to guard the frontier, to light the watch fires, and prevent plundering. If we wait till the national resources are replenished and men's minds at rest, after a few years have passed we shall be

able to destroy them in one expedition." The others agreed on the advisability of garrisoning the frontier.

Soon after Heich'ih Ch'angchih defeated the T'u-fan chief general Tsanp'o and Suhokuei at Liangfeich'uan, killing and making prisoners over 2,000 men. T'u-fan then retreated. An imperial decree appointed Ch'angchih Commander of the Hoyuan army to garrison the country against them.

According to the memoir of Kaotsung Ch'angchih fought the battle at Liangfeich'uan in the 1st year of Yunglung (680), and it ought not to come before the 4th year of Yifêng (679), so that the official document must have got misplaced here.

In the 4th year of Yifêng (679), the tsanp'u died. His son, Ch'inuhsilung, succeeded to the throne with the same title of tsanp'u. He was eight years old at the time, and the government of the state was still in the hands of Ch'inling. He sent the chief minister, Lunhant'iaopang, who brought the news of the death of the tsanp'u, and also asked for peace. Kaotsung commissioned the general Sung Lingwên to proceed to Fan to assist at the funeral.

In the 1st year of Yunglung (680), the Princess Wên-ch'êng died. Kaotsung despatched another envoy to take part in the funeral ceremony.

He brought back with him the body of our Ch'ên Hsingyen. When Hsingyen was sent on a mission to the enemy, Lunh'inling wanted him to bow down, and threatened him with the sword, but he refused to kneel. They detained him ten years, and now his body was brought back. He was canonized as governor of Muchou. Tsanp'o again invaded as far as Liangfeich'uan, where Ch'angchih attacked and drove him away.

When the Empress Tsê't'ien ruled, she appointed the minister, Wei Taichia, commander-in-chief, with the governor-general of Anhsi, Yen Wênku, as his deputy. In the 1st year of Yungch'ang (689), they led troops to attack the T'u-fan, but after delaying long, made no way. He was punished by banishment to Hsiuchou, and Wênku was beheaded. Taichia had no military capacity, and proved himself helpless and incompetent, so that his soldiers were famished, and all wandered about to die in ditches. The year after the minister, Ts'êng Ch'angch'ien, was appointed to chief command against the T'u-fan, but returned after going half way, so that his army never reached.

In the 1st year of Juyi (692), the T'ufan chief Hosu, at the head of his own followers, together with the tribes of Kueich'uan, and 30,000 of the Tanghsiang, offered his allegiance. Tsêt'ien ordered the general Chang Yuanyü to lead 20,000 picked warriors to receive him. The army waited for him at the Tatu river, but Hosu's project had leaked out, and he had been carried off to his own country. Another chief, Tsanch'ui, at the head of over 8,000 of the Oh'iang and Man tribes, came to Yuanyü to offer submission. Yuanyü established in their country the Yehch'uanchou, and appointed Tsanch'ui governor. Finally, on the hill to the west of the Tatu, he carved in stone a record of his fame and returned.

In the 1st year of Oh'angshou (692), the commander-in-chief, Wang Hsiaoehieh, inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan army, and re-conquered the four military governments Chintz'ü, Yütien, Sulê and Suiyeh. There was then established at Chintz'ü, the governor-general of Anhsi(26), and troops were sent to garrison the city.

It was advised in council to abolish these four chên, and give up the country, but Ts'ui Sung presented this memorial: "For a long time have the barbarians been dangerous to our central state. The five ancient emperors and the three dynasties did not subdue them. The Han, with an army of a million men, invested P'ingch'êng, and afterwards, the emperor Wuti, with determined resolution, pacified the barbarians of the four quarters. Chang Ch'ien first penetrated to the countries of the west, established four garrisons, and fortified two passes, cutting off the right arm of the Hsiungnu. Gradually the Ho and Huang were crossed, and a city, Lingchü, was built as a defence against the southern Ch'iang. Then barriers, guard-houses, towers, and smoko-fires, extended several thousand li beyond the Great Wall. The treasures were emptied, soldiers and horses exhausted, and envoys despatched in yearly and monthly succession, till money was made of leather, and coins reckoned by the string, while boats and carts were taxed, and duties levied on wine distillers, all with the view of keeping up the above permanently. Thus were the Hsiungnu compelled to flee alone to distant parts, the western countries opened up, and officers appointed to rule them. When the Emperor Kuangwu re-established the dynasty, all again gave in their allegiance; and during the following century there were three breaks and three renewals of intercourse. Our own Emperor T'aitung, following in the old footsteps of the Han, ruled the southern mountains as far as the Tsungling range, and divided the country into cities and districts, so that watch-fires blazed throughout, and the T'ufan dared not trouble the empire. In the reign of Kaotsung the generals were feeble, the four chên were lost and abandoned, and the T'ufan waxed strong, and invaded to the west

of Yench'i(27), their long drums advancing on the right beyond Kaoch'ang, while they passed Chüshih, plundered Ch'anglê, cut off the Mohoyench'i, and penetrated to T'unhuang(28). Now Hsiaoehieh, in one expedition, has reconquered the four chên, and re-established the old boundaries of the late emperor, and if all be given up, his finished work will be destroyed, and his excellent policy upset. If the four chên be not garrisoned, the foreign warriors will invade the western countries; and if these be disturbed, the southern Ch'iang will be attacked in turn; and should these join, our province of Hohsi will be in difficulties. Moreover, the Mohoyench'i is a desert 2000 li wide, with no water nor grass, and should the north become a prey to the enemy, the T'ang armies will not be able to cross to the north, and then the natives of Yi, Hsi, Peit'ing(29), and Anhsi will all be lost." This led to the rejection of the advice of the council.

Then the chief, P'uluntsan, accompanied by the usurping K'ohan of the T'uehieh, Ashihna T'otzü, invaded from the south, and fought a battle with Hsiaoehieh at Lingch'uan, where they were defeated and driven away. The governor of Suiyeh despatched Hsiaoehieh, who destroyed the city Nishumussü.

In the 1st year of Wansuitêngfêng, Hsiaoehieh was appointed commander-in-chief, and fought with the T'ufan generals, Lunch'inling and Tsanp'o, at the Sulahanshan, where the imperial army was totally defeated. Hsiaoehieh was, in consequence, stripped of his rank.

In the 1st year of Wansuit'ung't'ien (696) a T'ufan army of over 40,000 men suddenly appeared under the walls of Liangchou. The governor, taken completely by surprise, hurriedly came out at the head of his troops and engaged the enemy. The battle lasted long, until their strength was exhausted, and they were slain by the rebels.

At this time the T'ufan sent another mission to ask for peace. The Empress was inclined to grant it, but Lunch'inling asked also for the withdrawal of the troops from the four chên of Anhsi, and also for a gift of the territory of the Ten Hordes(30).

The Empress despatched Kuo Yuanchên on a mission to them. On the road he met Ch'inling, and said to him: "Tungtsan was loyal to the empire and never broke his oath of fealty, but you are now become hostile, and yearly harass the frontier. Your father was friendly, and his son is an enemy. Is this filial piety? Your father was faithful, and his son is a traitor. Is this loyalty?" Ch'inling replied: "Certainly! but were the Son of Heaven to grant peace, the armies of both countries would be disbanded; and were he to allow the Ten hordes of the T'uehieh and the four chên to appoint their own rulers, the countries would defend themselves. How would this do?" Yuanchên said: "The T'ang use the Ten hordes and the four chên to control the western countries as a road for the sovereigns of the different states, and for no other

purpose. Moreover, these people have no kinship with the T'ufan, while they have long been frontier subjects of the T'ang." Ch'inling replied: "Does the minister think that I wish to sever these people so as to be enabled to harass the frontier of the T'ang? If I coveted territory and revenues, Ch'inghai and Huangch'uan are much nearer, and should I not rather strive after this land? The T'uchüeh tribes have stony deserts and broad steppes, and are very far distant from our central kingdom, and it is not likely that land 10,000 li away would be coveted. Moreover, the foreigners on all sides have been subdued and absorbed by the T'ang till even beyond the ocean no land has escaped destruction. T'ufan alone remains, and only because I and my brothers are diligent and united in protecting our country. Of the Ten hordes the Five ch'o are near Anhsi, but far from T'ufan, while the Ssüchin are separated from us by one desert only, which horsemen can canter across in ten days, so that there is ground for anxiety here. At Wuhai and Huangho the passes and rivers make formidable obstacles, and the land is pestilential, so that the T'ang cannot penetrate, whereas, on the other side, feeble generals and unarmed troops would be dangerous to Fan; hence my anxiety to acquire this territory; it is not with an eye to these tribes. The road to Kanchou and Liangchou is 2000 li across the Chishih desert, which at its broadest is only some hundreds of li across, at its narrowest only one hundred, so that if we come from Changyeh and Yümên we shall prevent the empire from sowing in the spring or reaping in the autumn, and in some five or six years succeed in cutting off its right. Now we do not intend to do this, so that you need not be anxious about us. After the war at Ch'inghai, Huang Jênsu made a treaty of peace, and frontier guards were removed, whereupon Ts'ui Chihpien crossed Ssüchin and carried off ten thousand of our oxen and sheep. I ask you about this." The envoys he sent strongly urged his request, but Yuanchên answered as firmly that it could not be granted.

The Empress altogether refused to grant this. In T'ufan, from the time when Launch'inling and his brothers had sole control of the troops, Ch'inling always resided in the centre in charge of affairs, while his younger brothers divided the rule of the outlying countries. Tsanp'o governed the eastern frontier, and was next neighbour to China, and for more than thirty years was a constant danger to the border. The brothers were all men of power and genius, and the Fan people feared them. In the 2nd year of Shêngli (699) the tsanp'u Ch'inuhsilung, having come to years of discretion, held a secret council with his chief minister, Lunyen, and others, at a time when Ch'inling was abroad. The tsanp'u then announced that he was going on a hunting expedition, collected warriors, and having taken over 2000 of the relatives and confederates of Ch'inling, put them to death. He then sent messengers to summon Ch'inling, Tsanp'o, and the rest. Ch'inling collected troops, and refused to obey the

summons, whereupon the tsanp'u himself led an army to chastise him. Ch'inling was deserted by his troops before the battle, and he killed himself, while more than a hundred of his relatives and intimate adherents committed suicide on the same day. Tsanp'o, at the head of over a thousand of his people, accompanied by his brothers, including Mangpuchih, came to offer allegiance. The Empress Tsêt'ien sent some swift horsemen of the imperial guard to meet them outside the city. She appointed Tsanp'o Prince of Kucitê, with the rank of general, and Mangpuchih Duke of Ankuo, giving to each an iron tablet of office, and rewarding them with many valuable presents. She afterwards ordered Tsanp'o to lead his warriors to Hungyuanku to take part in the fight. Shortly after he died, and was canonized by special decree as Governor-general of Anhsi.

In the 1st year of Chinshih (700) the T'u-fan again sent one of their generals, Ch'ümangpuchih, who invaded Liang-chou, and closely invested Ch'angsunghsien. The governor-general of the armies and cities of Lungyu, T'ang Hsiuching, fought a battle with Mangpuchih at Hungyuanku, and killed two of his lieutenant-generals and 2500 men.

In the 2nd year of Ch'angan (702) the tsanp'u, at the head of an army of over 10,000 men, invaded Hsichou. The governor, Ch'ên Tatz'ü, fought in all four battles with the rebels, defeated them on each occasion, and cut off more than 1000 heads. Thereupon the T'u-fan sent Lunmisa and others on a mission to the imperial court to beg for peace. The Empress entertained them in one of the halls of the palace, and exhibited a hundred games in the courtyard. Lunmisa said, "Your servant was born in border wastes, and has never heard before the music of China; may your servant be permitted to look more closely?" The Empress allowed his request. Thereupon Lunmisa and his colleagues all laughed and danced for joy. He bowed his thanks, saying, "Your slave kneels to your sacred Majesty, who has treated him from first to last with magnificent ceremony, and also allowed him a close inspection of wonderful music, such as he has

never seen in his life. He is a mean thing, of no account, and how can he look up to acknowledge celestial favour? He can only wish in his heart that your great house may endure for a myriad years."

The next year they sent another mission with a thousand horses and two thousand ounces of gold, to beg for a matrimonial alliance. The Empress granted it. At this time the subject states on the southern border of T'ufan, Nepâl(31), and P'olomên (Central India), both revolted, and the tsanp'u went himself to punish them, but died during the war. His sons disputed for the throne a long time, till the people elected the son of Ch'inuhsilung, Ch'ilisotsan, to be tsanp'u, who was at the time seven years old. In the reign of Chungtsung, in the 1st year of Shênlung (705), a T'ufan mission arrived to announce the death of their ruler. The emperor went into mourning for him, and closed the court for one day.

They again sent the chief minister, Hsitungjêku, to ask for a matrimonial alliance. No reply was given. Li Chihku had proposed to attack the Man tribes of Yaochou(32), so as to cut off the T'ufan guides, and, in obedience to a decree, had led the Chienman levies against them. The Man chief reported the affair to the enemy, killed Chihku, offering his body in sacrifice to heaven, and invaded Shu Han. A decree appointed T'ang Chiuchêng commander of the army of Yaochou and Chünchou, to lead an army to attack them. The enemy had bridged the river Yangpi (Chinsha R.) with iron chains as a means of communication with the Hsi Erh Man, and built a walled city to protect the bridge. Chiuchêng broke the chains and levelled the walls, and erected an iron pillar on the T'iench'ih (lake), engraved with a record of his prowess.

In the 2nd year of Chinglung (708) the mission of alliance was sent back. Some proposed that, as they had come to receive a princess, and besides to learn the Chinese language, they should not be sent back, but the Emperor replied that China must be just in its relations with barbarians, and refused.

Soon afterwards the grandmother of the tsanp'u sent the chief minister, Hsitungjê, who offered to the Emperor productions of the country, and asked for a matrimonial alliance for her grandson. Chungtsung gave his adopted child the daughter of Shouli, prince of Yung, with the title of Princess of Chinch'êng. From this date tribute was offered every year. In the 3rd year of Chinglung (709), in the 11th month, they sent a mission headed by the chief minister Shangtsanch'o (whose surname was Hsila), to receive the

bride. The Emperor entertained them in the ball-grounds within the park, and ordered his own son-in-law Yang Shênchiao to play with the T'ufan envoy at the ball-game, Chungtsung at the head of his Court looking on.

In the 1st month of the 4th year (710), the Emperor wrote, "The sages spread civilization with the welfare of the people in their hearts, the kings of old extended benevolence to the eight points of the compass without excluding foreigners, so that their fame was diffused far and near and all things flourished. Afterwards the glorious Chou ruled the empire and adopted measures for conciliating distant people. When the powerful Han flourished they originated a policy of peace and alliance with special view to permanence, and they are an excellent model for imperial rulers. We have received from the spirits above the rule of the empire, and are anxious to follow the good deeds of our predecessors and institute a lasting concord. As regards the T'ufan, their abode is in the west country, from which, soon after the rise of our imperial house, they came early with tribute. The learned, warlike and holy Emperor T'aitung, whose virtue was wide as heaven and earth, with anxious care for the myriads of his people, determined to put away weapons and armour, and maintain relations of alliance and friendship, and for some tens of years the world was calm and peaceful. Since this time, when the Princess Wênch'êng went and civilized this country, many of their customs have been changed. But our borders have been constantly full of troops, and their Fan tribes have often experienced loss and disaster. Now however the tsanp'u, and the k'otun(33) his grandmother, and the chiefs have for several years shown true submission, and with a view to cement the ancient bonds of kinship they now ask to renew friendship. The Princess of Chinch'êng is our little daughter, and we are very fond of her, but, as the father and mother of our subjects, we compassionate the black-haired people; and, as by granting their request and strengthening the bonds of peace, the border lands will be untroubled and the officers and soldiers at rest, we sever the bond of affection for the good of the

state. We found for her a foreign home, and with due employment of all ceremony bestow her on the T'ufan tsanp'u. In this present month the cortège will start, and we purpose ourselves to accompany it outside the city."

The Emperor ordered Chi Ch'una to escort the princess, as the Prince of Chianghsia formerly did on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Wênch'êng, but he declined to go. A second appointment was made with the same result, until finally the general Yang Chü was despatched. In the same month the Emperor proceeded to Shihp'inghsien to escort the princess, and the imperial tent was pitched beside the Paich'ingp'a, where he entertained the princes and high ministers and the T'ufan envoy at a banquet, during which, when the wine had circulated, he called the T'ufan envoy to the front, and told him what a young child the princess was, and how he had severed the bonds of love to send her to be married so far away. The sovereign wept and sobbed for a long time.

The presents were several tens of thousand pieces of brocaded and plain silks, and comprised various kinds of apparatus, with skilled workmen, as well as Chintz'ü musical instruments.

He then commanded the ministers of his court to compose farewell verses. He specially pardoned the Shihp'inghsien criminals, and remitted the taxes of the inhabitants for one year. He changed the name of Shihp'inghsien to Chinch'ênghsien, the lake to Phunin lake, and ordered the spot to be called henceforward the place of sad parting. After the princess had reached T'ufan, they built a new city for her residence.

When Chang Yuanpiao was governor-general of Anhsi, he frequently attacked and plundered the northern borders of the T'ufan. They were inwardly very angry in consequence, although outwardly all was peace. When Yang Chü was governor of Shanchou, the T'ufan sent envoys to him with many valuable presents, and asked for the Chiuch'ü(34) territory in Hohsi, as dowry for the princess of Chinch'êng. Chü then wrote a memorial to recommend that it should be given. Thus the T'ufan gained possession of Chiuch'ü, a fertile and rich territory, where they could encamp troops and

pasture their herds, which was also close to the T'ang border, and from this time they again revolted and began to lead warriors to invade and plunder.

In the 2nd year of K'aiyuan (714),

Their minister Fëntayen sent a letter to the ministers of state to ask them to conclude a sworn treaty fixing the boundary at Hoyuan, and proposed the officer Hsieh Wan to be sent for the purpose. The Emperor ordered Yao Ch'ung and his colleagues to answer the despatch, and appointed Hsieh Wan to take the treaty of the Shênlung period to them. The T'ufulu afterwards sent the historiographer Shangch'intsang, named Hsila, to offer to the emperor the text of the treaty, but it was not concluded.

in the autumn, the T'ufulu generals Fëntayen and Ch'ilihsü, at the head of an army of over 100,000 men, plundered Lint'aochün, and also invaded and plundered Lanchou and Weichou, carrying off with them the government sheep and horses. Yang Ch'ü, repentant and afraid, killed himself by drinking poison. The Emperor Yuantsung appointed Hsüeh No commander-in-chief in Lungyu, with Wang Chün to lead troops to attack them in the rear; and issued a decree to collect a large army for him to go in person to chastise them. The generals and warriors were enlisted, and the day fixed for the start. Meanwhile, however, Chün and the rest fell in with the robbers at Wuchieh-yi in Weiyuan. The general in command of the van, Wang Haiping, was killed fighting bravely, but Chün advanced at the head of his troops, and inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufulu army, killing some tens of thousands and recovering all the sheep and horses that they were carrying off. The remnant of the enemy fled to the north and died in heaps, one followed on the other, so that the current of the T'ao river was stopped. The sovereign then gave up his project of proceeding himself, and appointed Ni Joshui to go to report on the condition of the army, and also to sacrifice at the funeral of Wang Haiping before his return. The T'ufulu sent their chief minister Tsungêyintzü to the T'ao river to sacrifice to their dead and lost warriors, and also to call at the barrier to ask for peace, which the Emperor refused.

The ministers of state reported as follows: The T'ufulu originally had the (Yellow) river as the boundary, but on account of the princess the river was bridged, a walled city built, and two camps established at Tushan and Chiuch'ü,

200 li distant from Chishih. Now that they have broken the treaty, we propose to destroy the bridge, and again guard the river according to treaty. A decree was issued accordingly. The general Weich'ih Huai was despatched as envoy to T'ufan to calm the fears of the princess.

From this date they annually harassed the borders. Kuo Chihyün and Wang Chün were in turn appointed Governor-general of Hohsi to oppose them. The T'ufan, exulting in the strength of their warriors, whenever they sent despatches to court, asked for the ceremonies of equal nations, and used rude and disrespectful language, so that the Emperor was very angry.

A mission came as far as Lin'ao, but a decree refused them admittance. The Princess of Chinch'eng sent a letter to ask the Emperor to listen to them and to renew friendly relations, concluding with the words: "The tsanp'u and his officers wish to make a sworn treaty and to engrave it on stone." The T'ufan sent another mission to the Emperor with this despatch: "The Emperor Hsiaoho granted a sworn treaty, and at that time the T'ang ministers of state, Lu Ch'in-wang, Wei Yuanchung, Li Chiao, Chi Ch'una and others, in all twenty-two persons, concluded a sworn ceremony with the T'ufan sovereign and officers. When the Emperor Hsiaoho died and the exalted Emperor succeeded, he kept up peaceful relations as of old. But the chief ministers of the T'ang, whose names are engraved on the treaty, are all dead, and the present ministers do not follow the former treaty; therefore it is necessary to repeat the ceremony. The envoy Launch'ili and others, from first to last seven missions, have been sent, but we have not been honoured with a favourable reply. Moreover, Chang Yuanpiao and Li Chihku have led troops to plunder and oppress the state of your son-in-law, so that the oaths have been broken and war ensued. Should my father-in-law be pleased to wash away and pardon bygone faults, and let all be merged in a great peace, your son-in-law will keep it faithfully. But if the sworn ceremony be not repeated, there will be no trust; and we are waiting to make a new oath. Your son-in-law himself manages state affairs, and leaves nothing to subordinates, and he is anxious to give to the people a lasting peace. Although my father-in-law is at peace with us, yet his heart is at variance with his words. Why is this?" He also said: "My father-in-law blames Ch'ilihsü for enlisting warriors, but these were only new soldiers sent to replace old, and they were not specially enlisted. Formerly, all the border land was neutral from P'aisui, until lately the general Kuo encamped troops there and built a walled city, and your son-in-law in consequence also erected a city. If there be peace between the two countries, these will be available for the reception of missions, if there be no intercourse for guarding the frontier. He is also suspicious of our friendship with the T'uchüeh Kuch'olu(35). Our intercourse is of long standing, and our houses were once allied, but now there is no communication." He sent precious vases and cups as offerings. The Emperor replied: "When the old alliance was made, the document was drawn up, and it will be sufficient to keep this old sworn treaty;" and he refused to allow a new ceremony. Having entertained the envoy, he sent him back with valuable gifts for the tsanp'u. From this time they sent yearly tribute, and did not trouble the borders.

In the 10th year (722) they attacked the small Pulu(36) state, the sovereign of which, Muchinmang, sent a letter to Chang Hsiaosung, the governor-general of Peit'ing, in which he said: "Pulu is the west gate of the T'ang, and if it be lost the states of the western country will all be subdued by the T'ufan. Your Excellency must devise a plan to prevent this." Hsiaosung assented, and sent the lieutenant-governor of Sulê Kashyar Chang Ssüli with 4000 foot and horse. They marched night and day, joined the army of Muchinmang, and attacked the T'ufan on two sides, killing some tens of thousands, capturing many suits of armour, weapons, horses and sheep, and recovering all the old territory of the nine cities which had been lost. When the Pulu prince first came to the imperial court, he treated the Emperor as his own father, and after returning to his country he established the Suiyuanchün to oppose the T'ufan, and then resulted constant battles every year. The T'ufan always said: "We do not covet your state, but only want to borrow a road to attack the four chên." On this account, for a succession of years, they sent no armies. Thereupon, the governor-general of Lungyu Wang Chünp'i proposed a deep invasion by way of retaliation. In the 12th year (724) he defeated the T'ufan, and presented captives to the Emperor.

Then he sacrificed to the mountains. When the ceremony was over, the high officer Chang Yueh memorialized: "The T'ufan are hostile and rebellious, and deserve to be destroyed by the myriad. But another punitive expedition would surely result in distress and loss. For ten years and more the soldiers of Kan, Liang, Ho, and Shan have been marched and sent abroad without ceasing, and although they have been victorious, yet there has been no opportunity to recuperate the losses. I hear that they have repented of their misdeeds and beg for peace, and trust that your majesty will despatch envoys to accept their kotous of submission so as to give rest to the borders, that the black-haired race may prosper accordingly." The Emperor replied: "Wait till we have consulted Wang Chünp'i." Yueh, as he went out, said to Yuan Ch'ienyo: "Chünp'i is brave, but devoid of judgment, and thinks himself capable of anything. If there be peace between the two countries, how can he acquire fame? As soon as he comes and details his plans, my advice will be disregarded." Chünp'i afterwards had audience and memorialized on the subject, begging to send troops to invade their country deeply and punish them.

In the 1st month of the 15th year (727) Chünp'i led an army and defeated the T'ufan to the west of the Ch'inghai (Kokonor), and returned carrying off their

baggage waggons, sheep, and horses. Before this, the T'ufan general Hsinolo, at the head of an army, had invaded and attacked Tatonku, and he afterwards marched to assault Kanchou, burning towns and villages. Chünp'i was afraid of their prowess, and dared not go out to fight. Meanwhile, there was a great fall of snow, and a large number of the rebels were frozen to death, so that they retired by the west road of the Chishihchün. Chünp'i had previously ordered men to go secretly into the enemy's borders and burn all the grass along the road by which they were returning, so that when the retreating army of Hsinolo reached Tafeich'uan, and the warriors put off their armour and turned out their horses, the herbage was all destroyed, and more than half of the horses were starved to death. Chünp'i, with the governor of Ch'inchou and others, led troops to attack them in the rear, and pursued them as far as the west of the Ch'inghai. The water of the sea was frozen at the time, and the troops marched across upon the ice. At the same time, Hsinolo had crossed the Tafeich'uan, having left behind on the banks of the Ch'inghai his baggage waggons, and disabled soldiers. Chünp'i let loose his troops, and returned with the captives and booty.

In the 9th month of the same year the T'ufan generals, Hsinolo Kunglu and Chulung Mangpuchih, assaulted and destroyed the city of Kuachou(37), capturing the governor, T'ien Yuanhsien, and Shou, the father of Chünp'i. They carried off the army stores and provisions from the city, demolished the walls and then returned. They next attacked the Yümen garrison, and Ch'anglohsien, the governor of which city, Chia Shihshun, bravely defended it for 80 days until they retired.

On the way back they ravaged Anhsi. The lieutenant-governor, Chao Yichên, attacked, and drove them away.

Soon after, Wang Chünp'i was killed by one of the tribes of the Huiho (Ouigours). The Emperor appointed the President of the Board of War, Hsiao Sung, governor-general of Hohsi, and commissioned the general, Chang Shoukuei, appointed governor of Kuachou, to rebuild the

city walls, and call back the inhabitants to resume their former occupations. At this time the fame and prowess of Hsinolo Kunglu was much dreaded, and Hsiao Sung sent back deserters to T'ufan to report that he was in secret communication with China, whereupon the tsanp'u recalled, and put him to death.

Next year in the autumn the T'ufan general Hsimolang led another army to attack Kuachou, the governor of which led out his troops and drove them back. The governor-general of Lungyu, governor of Shanchou, Chang Chihliang, led troops to K'opoku on the S.W. of the Ch'inghai, and fought there a battle with the T'ufan, greatly defeating them. Soon after the infantry and cavalry of the armies of Chishih and Momên came up together and united with Chihliang in the pursuit. They captured the city of Tamomên, taking over 1000 prisoners, capturing 1000 horses, 500 yaks and a large quantity of material, weapons, clothes and property. They afterwards burnt the Lotoch'iao (camel bridge) and returned.

In the 8th month he again sent the lieutenant-general Tu Pink'o with 4000 crossbow-men, who engaged the T'ufan under the walls of the city of Ch'ilien and fought from morn to sunset, separating and again meeting in battle, the rebels suffering severe loss, while their assistant-general was killed. Five thousand heads were presented. The rebels defeated fled in confusion into the mountains, and cries of lamentation resounded from the four quarters. When the Emperor first heard of the repeated invasions of the T'ufan, he said to the ministers of his court: "The T'ufan, overbearing and blood-thirsty, are come, presuming on their strength. We have just examined the maps of the country, to find the strong and weak points, and ourselves indicated them to the generals in command, and they will surely be defeated." In a few days the open despatch (to announce victory) arrived.

In the 17th year (729) the commander-in-chief of Sofang, Wei, Prince of Hsinan, led another army to Lungyu and captured their Shihp'uch'êng(38), cutting off over 400 heads and taking over 200 prisoners. He then garrisoned the

city of Shihp'u and presented the captives bound at the imperial ancestral temple.

The Emperor wrote a despatch to the general P'ei Ming, in which he said: "Should any one dare to hide fame acquired in battle and prevent its being rewarded, let the warrior himself report it, and the general and civil officer shall both be executed. If any hang back from the fight, the whole rank shall be punished by martial law. The successful capturer of the prince shall be appointed a chief general." Thereupon the warriors pressed on yet more bravely. The T'u-fan sent a Nangku (a civil officer) to present this letter at the barrier: "Lamungjê and Lanch'ijê, both commanders of 10,000 men, have been commissioned by the tsanp'u to ask pardon of the governor. Our two nations are allied by bonds of affinity, but yesterday the Mipuuung Ch'iang and the Tanghsiang quarrelled, and in consequence our two nations lost their good understanding. We did not listen, the T'ang also ought not to listen. Let the governor send a confidential officer to return with the nangku to discuss a sworn treaty."

Thereupon the T'u-fan sent successive missions to ask for peace. Yu Prince of Chung and Huangfu Weiming reported on the subject and personally pressed the advantages of friendly intercourse. The Emperor replied: "The T'u-fan tsan'pu sent to us the other year a despatch couched in disrespectful and improper terms, and we resolved to punish him. How then can there be peace?" Weiming answered: "In the beginning of the present reign the tsanp'u was still a child and could not have behaved in this way. It must have been the general in command of the frontier army, who, wishing to gain temporary fame, forged this letter to excite the anger of your Majesty. The two nations then broke off relations, and armies were set in motion which gained temporary advantage, and they then privately took credit for themselves and sent false reports of their achievements to plot for official promotion. Thus many myriads were wasted and with no gain to the state, and now the people of Hohsi and Lungyu are sick and famished, all from this cause. May your Majesty be pleased to despatch a mission to visit the Princess of Chinch'êng, and to conclude a treaty of peaceful alliance with the tsanp'u personally, ordering him to bow down in acknowledgment of vassalage, and thereby confer lasting tranquillity on the borders. This policy would give peace to the people for long ages." The Emperor approved his words, and sent Weiming and

the eunuch Chang Yuanfang on a mission of inquiry to the T'ufan.

Weiming and Yuanfang went to T'ufan, and when they had seen the tsanp'u and the princess, they made known the resolution of the Emperor. The tsanp'u and the rest were rejoiced that their request for peace had been accepted, and produced all the imperial despatches they had received from the period Chênkuan downwards, for the inspection of Weiming. He ordered his high minister, Minghsilieh, to accompany Weiming and his colleagues to court, and to present this humble despatch: "Your son-in-law's relationship with his father-in-law is of long standing, being derived from a former emperor, and he has, moreover, been honoured with the gift of the princess of Chinch'êng, so that we were allied as one family, and all people under heaven enjoyed the blessings of peace. Meanwhile, however, Chang Yuanpiao and La Chihku, both in the east and west, first moved soldiers and horses, and invaded and plundered T'ufan, and consequently, the frontier generals have been constantly attacking each other, and down to the present day there have been battle and strife. Your nephew, on account of the aforetime Princess Wênch'êng, and of the present Princess of Chinch'êng, is deeply mindful of the duties of relationship, and would not dare to be disrespectful. But when quite young he was deceived by the generals on the frontier, who concocted quarrels and disturbance; he submits to the correction of his father-in-law, and begs him to investigate the affair in virtue of the ancient alliance; ten thousand deaths would be a sufficient atonement. He has before sent several envoys to the imperial court, but all have been turned back by the frontier generals. Therefore he did not dare to send a memorial himself, but last winter the Princess sent as envoy Louchungshihjo on a special mission, and the envoy sent in return to see the princess has been gratefully received. Your son-in-law, rejoiced beyond measure at this mark of favour, sends as bearer of this letter Minghsilieh, with the general Lianghsiehhoyeh as assistant envoy. When Minghsilieh is admitted to audience, he will report clearly

as to what shall be kept or dropped, he being conversant with the political relations of the two countries. Your son-in-law will give clear instructions to the frontier generals of the Fan that plunder and robbery are forbidden, and that if any subjects of the Han come for refuge they are immediately to be sent back. He beseechingly implores the Emperor, his father-in-law, to search from afar his red heart, and to grant a renewal of old friendship, so as to confer lasting rest and joy on the people. Should he be the recipient of sacred grace, for thousands and tens of thousands of years your son-in-law will surely not dare to be the first to break the sworn covenant. He reverently offers a gold wine vase, a gold plate, a gold bowl, an agate wine cup, and a piece of goat's hair cloth, as a small tribute from a mean country. The Princess of Chinch'êng also presents separately a gold duck, plate, bowl, and other articles."

In the 18th year (730), the 10th month, Minghsilieh and the rest arrived at the capital. The Emperor received them in the Hsüanchêng palace, surrounded by his armed guards. Minghsilieh was a scholar learned in literature; he had been before to Ch'angan to receive the Princess of Chinch'êng, and at that occasion all the court talked of his ability and eloquence. On his arrival, the Emperor invited him to a banquet in the palace, conversed with him, and treated him most graciously, presenting to him a purple robe and gold girdle with fish-bag, as well as seasonable apparel, a silver plate and wine vase; and afterwards entertained him sumptuously at a separate hotel. Hsilieh kept the robe and girdle as well as the other presents, but declined the fish-bag, excusing himself thus: "In our native country we do not wear this, and I dare not keep such a new and rare gift." The Emperor approved and consented. He appointed Ts'ui Lin to proceed on a mission of reply and congratulation.

They also asked to be allowed to barter horses at Ch'ihling(39), and to have an exchange mart established at Kausungling. The minister P'ei Kuang'ing reported "Kausung is an important defence to China; let it be rather Ch'ihling."

At Ch'ihling both nations erected boundary monuments, and made a covenant never to encroach beyond.

At the same time the T'ufan envoy memorialized: "The

Princess begs for a copy of the Mao Shih, Lichi, Tsochuan and Wênhsüan," and a decree was issued, ordering the officers in charge to write and give them. Yü Hsiulieh presented this memorial of remonstrance: "Your servant has heard that the barbarians are plunderers of the state. The classics and records contain the statutes of the state. The inborn nature of the barbarians must not be left unchecked. The statutes contain constant laws, and ought not to be given away. The Chuan says, 'The barbarians are not plotting against and troubling China, therefore it is necessary to curb their wicked hearts, and if they be guarded against, there will be no cause for sorrow.' Formerly, when the Tungp'ing Wang came to court and asked for the Shihchi and the works of the philosophers, the Emperor of the Han dynasty refused to give them, because in the Shihchi there was much war strategy, and in the philosophers' works passages inculcating deceitful stratagems. Although this prince was a cherished relative of the Han, yet the Emperor was unwilling to give him books on war. Now these western barbarians are plunderers and enemies of the state, and far less ought they to be given the classics and statutes. Moreover, your servant has heard that the T'ufan are naturally endowed with energy and perseverance, that they are intelligent and sharp, and untiring in their love for study. By reading these books they will certainly acquire a knowledge of war. When versed in the Odes they will know the use of armies of defence; by study of the Rites they will know the times of disbanding and enlisting troops; the Records will teach them that in war there are measures of deceit and treachery; while by the Essays they will learn about letters of reprimand in mutual intercourse. What is the advantage of giving weapons to plunderers, and of bestowing provisions on robbers? Your servant has heard that when Lu had the Rites of Chou, Ch'i did not take up arms against them, and that when Wu had learnt the use of chariots in war, Ch'u was utterly defeated; the one from its keeping the statutes was an honoured state, the other from giving up an art lost its territory: these may be instanced as models. Moreover, the princess, after having

been given in marriage, and followed her husband far away to a foreign country, ought to follow the barbarian ceremonial. She asks on the contrary for valuable books, and it is the idea of your stupid servant that this is not the request of the princess herself, but suggested by some refugee who has fled to the north and is living among them. Should your Majesty think that it would lead to a loss of good relations with the Fan to break the faith already pledged, then there is no resource; but I beg that the Ch'unch'iu be excluded, when the virtue of the Chou was weak and the vassal princes waxed strong, when each one adopted rites and music, and fought against the other. From this cause falsehood prevailed and deceitful measures originated, so that there are instances of subjects giving orders to the sovereign, and individuals arrogating to themselves the command of the princes. If this book be given, the state will be endangered. The Records say that Yühsi asked for the Ch'uhsuan and P'anying, whereupon Confucius said: 'Better give many cities, for these are celebrated things, and must not be ceded to any one.' The barbarians are covetous and rapacious, value property and disregard territory, and they can be presented with silks and abundance of jade and money, but why need one obey their behest and increase their knowledge? Your servant is the unworthy occupant of a post whose duties are the care of important records, and is deeply pained that the classics should be thrown away on barbarians. Under pain of death he presents this memorial for the careful consideration of your Majesty." The memorial was disregarded.

In the 21st year (733), a decree sent the President of the Board of Works, Li Sung, on a friendly mission to T'ufan. Whenever the T'ang envoys entered their borders, there were marshalled on the spot several lines of mailed warriors and mounted soldiers, to show the power of their arms.

In the 22nd year (734) the general Li Ch'uan was sent to erect a stone monument at Ch'ihling, to mark the T'ufan frontier line.

The T'ufan sent a mission of thanks, and said: "The T'ang and T'ufan are both great nations, and have now determined to make a treaty of lasting peace. Fearing lest the frontier officers should be disorderly, we propose that messenger

be sent from both sides to make them clearly understand this fact." The Emperor appointed officers, the T'ufan sent Mangpuchih. A proclamation was distributed to all the cities of Chiennan and Hohsi to this effect: "The two nations are at peace, and there must be no plundering nor oppression." They then sent Hsinopuhai, who brought tribute, as well as valuable presents for distribution among the high officers.

In the 24th year (736), in the first month, the T'ufan sent a mission with tribute of the productions of their country, including several hundred gold and silver vessels and precious ornaments, all of wonderful and strange form and make. The Emperor ordered them to be exhibited outside one of the palace gates for the inspection of the officers. The same year the T'ufan attacked on the west Pulu (Balti), which sent envoys to the Emperor with the news of their peril. The Emperor sent a despatch to the T'ufan to order them to put down their arms, but the T'ufan paid no attention to the command. They then attacked and conquered the Pulu state, and the Emperor was very angry.

At this time Ts'ui Hsiyi was governor-general of Hohsi. When Liangchou was garrisoned with troops, the T'ufan made a palisade of trees on the Chinese frontier, and stationed guards along it. Hsiyi said to the T'ufan general Ch'ilihsü: "The two nations are at peace, what necessity is there for guards, preventing the men cultivating the soil? I propose that all be disbanded, for us to be united as one family. Is not this good policy?" Ch'ilihsü replied: "The governor is honourable and sincere, and his word is to be trusted, but I fear that his government is not so entirely to be relied on, and if one out of ten thousand be hostile and catch us unprepared, we shall repent to no purpose." Hsiyi strongly urged his proposition, and sent soldiers, who made a sworn covenant with Ch'ilihsü and his people, sacrificing white dogs. Both then removed their guards, and the T'ufan herds were sent out to pasture throughout the country. Soon after Hsiyi sent Sun Hui to court to report the affair. Hui, wishing to gain praise for himself, memorialized: "The T'ufan are unprepared, and if we send troops to surprise them we shall be victorious." The Emperor sent Chao Huitsung to return with all speed with Sun Hui to see what was best to do.

When Huitsung and his party arrived at Liangchou, they forged a decree, ordering Hsiyi to attack them by surprise. Hsiyi had no course but to obey. He inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan on the banks of the Ch'inghai, killing and capturing large numbers. Ch'ilihsü saved his life by flight. Huitsung and Sun Hui were both rewarded with valuable presents. The T'ufan, on account of this, again stopped sending tribute. Hsiyi, on account of this breach of faith, was discontented with the war, and was unsuccessful, and he was soon after transferred to be governor of Honan. Having arrived at the capital, he and Chao Huitsung both saw the spectre of a white dog, and died one after the other. Sun Hui was punished by execution. A decree appointed the governor of Ch'ichou, Hsiao Lin, to take command at Liangchou, and to be governor-general of Hohsi in place of Hsiyi; the governor of Sanchou, Tu Hsiwang, to be governor-general of Lungyu; the governor of Yichou, Wang Hao, to be governor-general of Chiennan; all three to go by separate roads to attack the T'ufan. The destruction of the boundary monument was also ordered.

In the 26th year (738), the 4th month, Tu Hsiwang led an army to besiege the T'ufan new city, and took it, and established there the Weiwuchün, sending 1000 soldiers to garrison it. In the 7th month, he again despatched troops from Shanchou, which captured the T'ufan bridge, and the city of Yench'uan to the left (east) of the (Yellow) river. The T'ufan sent 30,000 warriors to fight with the imperial troops, which Hsiwang attacked and routed. He then established at the city the Chênhsichün. Meanwhile, Wang Hao also led the Chiennan soldiers and militia to besiege Anjungeh'êng(40). He first built two walled cities to the right and left of Anjung, as places of attack and defence, while he encamped troops beneath the P'êngp'oling, and gathered all the stores and provisions of the province for their use. In the 9th month, the T'ufan brought all their strength to the relief of the city. The imperial army was totally defeated, and the two new cities both lost to the enemy. Hao barely escaped with his life, while tens of

thousands of officers and soldiers, as well as the army stores, provisions, and weapons, were all captured by the enemy. Hao was punished by being degraded to be governor of K'uocho. When he first began the war, he squandered on his son money and silks by the myriad, and without authority gave him purple robes, etc., on which were expended several myriads, for which he was degraded to a still lower post in Tuanchou, where he died.

In the 27th year (73⁹), the 7th month, the T'ufan again attacked the garrisons of Paits'ao and Anjên, and a decree ordered troops to be sent from the garrisons of Lint'ao and Sofang to their succour. The T'ufan had encamped troops on the road, so as to block the road from Lint'ao, which were attacked and driven away.

After the defeat of Wang Hao, the governor of Huachou, Chang Yu, was appointed governor of Yichou, and commander-in-chief in Chiennan, with Changch'in Chiench'iung as deputy. Yu was a civilian, and ignorant of war, so that Chiench'iung took sole command of the army. The latter soon memorialized to recommend strongly the siege and capture of Anjung. The Emperor was delighted, removed Chang Yu to a post in the capital, and promoted Chiench'iung to be governor-general of the province. He also personally drew plans for the capture of the city.

In the spring of the 28th year (740), Chiench'iung entered into secret relations with Tsaituchu and other T'ufans within the city, who induced the citizens to return to their allegiance, and to admit the imperial troops into the city. He slew all the T'ufan generals and warriors, and sent troops to garrison it. The Emperor, when he heard the news, was much pleased. The high officers memorialized: "In our humble opinion, this city of the T'ufan, being placed in a commanding situation, they have trusted in its strength, and been able to steal into our borders, which for years they have harassed like a nest of ants, so that even with armies of millions we have gained no success. Your majesty himself devised a secret plan, and, without recourse to arms, sent Li Ssüching to proclaim it to the Ch'iang tribes, and all were

grateful for your favour, so that they changed their designs, and only plotted to prey on each other. Your divine policy is unfathomable, your wise measures incomprehensible. For years they had braved punishment, and now have been swept away in a single day. Your servants again memorialize to-day that your Majesty may simply say: 'Look at the barbarians of the four quarters, in a short time they will be one by one uprooted and destroyed.' The virtuous words once vouchsafed, there is immediately reported a victory over the barbarians, so that your Majesty is seen to be equal to heaven in holiness; the answer comes as quickly as the sound of a musical stone when struck; from ancient times to the present its like has not been seen. We pray you to proclaim it to all the officers, so that it may be recorded in the annals." The imperial pencil replied: "Into this city, in the period Yifêng (670-678), the Ch'iang led the T'ufan, who garrisoned it strongly. Yearly and monthly for a long time, it had been constantly besieged, but the situation is so impregnable that all our efforts were fruitless, and the court all decided that it was not to be conquered. But we, relying on the ignorance of the small Fan, resolved to carry through the affair, and devised a skilful plan by which it has been completed. We have gained the heart of these barbarians, and recovered our fortified city, so that really there is ample cause for rejoicing."

In the 10th month of the same year the T'ufan led another army to assault the city of Anjung,

The water springs were exhausted, when the rocks opened and springs gushed out. The brigands frightened retreated.

as well as Weichou. Changch'iu Chiench'iung sent one of his generals at the head of an army against them, and also despatched valiant horsemen from Kuanchung to the succour. The weather was extremely cold, and the rebels after a long time drew off their troops and retreated of their own accord. A decree was issued to change the name of the city to P'ingjung.

In the spring of the 29th year (741) the Princess of Chinch'êng died, and a mission from T'ufan came to bring

the news of her death. They also asked for peace, which the Emperor refused. It was not till some months after the arrival of the missions that the mourning ceremonies for the princess were performed outside one of the palace gates, the court being closed for three days.

In the 6th month a T'ufan army of 400,000 men assaulted the fortified town of Ch'èngfêng, advanced to the Ch'angning bridge on the west of the garrison of Hoyuan and to the peak of Hunyai in Anjên. The cavalry general, Tsang Hsiyeh, with an army of 5,000, attacked and defeated them. In the 12th month the T'ufan again invaded the city of Shihp'u, which the governor-general failed to defend, and the Emperor Yuantsung was still more angry.

In the beginning of the period T'ienpao, Huangfu Weiming and Wang Chungssü were appointed governors-general of Lungyu, but both were unable to conquer.

In the 1st year of T'ienpao (742), the governor-general of Lungyu, Huangfu Weiming, destroyed the enemy's garrison of Taling, fought at Ch'inghai and defeated Mangpuchih, cutting off 30,000 heads. The next year he destroyed the city of Hungehi, and fought at Shihp'u, where he was unsuccessful, his lieutenant-general being killed. The following year he defeated the enemy, and sent captives to the capital.

In the 7th year (748) Koshu Han was appointed governor-general of Lungyu. He attacked and recovered the city of Shihp'u, the name of which was changed to Shênwuchün, and captured their minister of state, Wulunyenkuo.

In the 10th year (751) the governor-general of Anhsi, Kao Hsienchih, captured a great chief, and sent him to the Emperor. At this time the T'ufan and the Man chief, Kolofêng(41), with united forces attacked Lunan. The governor-general of Chiennan, Yang Kuochung, sent a traitorous and false despatch, saying that he had defeated a Man army of 60,000 men at Yunnan, and recovered three ancient cities, including Hungehou, at the same time presenting captives. Koshu Han took the cities of Hungehi and Tamomên, and recovered all the ancient territory of Chiuch'ü, which he divided into chün and hsien, finishing in the 12th year of T'ienpao (753), when he had established Shêntsêchün on the west of Lin'ao, Jaohochün on the west of Chishih, and Wanhsiuchün to complete Hoehü.

In the 14th year (755), Hsinolo, the son of the ruler of the Sup'i(42), a Ch'iang people, submitted, and was appointed Prince of Huaiyi, and given the imperial surname of Li.

In the 14th year (755), the tsanp'u Ch'ilisulungliehtsan died. The ministers of state appointed his son, Sohsilung-

lichtsan, sovereign, with the same title of tsanp'u. They sent a mission to renew friendship. Yuantsung despatched the lieutenant-governor of the capital, Ts'ui Kuangyuan, with special credentials, and an imperial letter of appointment, to condole and sacrifice. When he returned, the rebel, An Lushan, had surreptitiously taken possession of Loyang, and Koshu Han was ordered to encamp with all the troops and militia of Ho and Lung at the T'ungkuan pass.

In ancient times the Ch'in (B.C. 221-201), to the west of the Lungshan(43), founded the Lungshichün. The Han, to keep in check the Hsiungnu, established to the right (west) of the (Yellow) river, the chün of Kutsang, Changyeh, Chiuch'uan, and Yiwu, stationed beyond the desert (of Gobi) a governor-general with rule over the western people, and divided Lungshi into the chün of Chinch'êng and Hsip'ing, which were occupied jointly by Ti and Ch'iang tribes. During the troubles at the close of each dynasty, if these countries were not held by strong rulers, they were lost to the barbarians, and so on for some thousand years. In the beginning of the period Wutê (618-626), Hsieh Jênkao acquired the territory of Lungshang as far as the river, and after the capture of Li Kuei possessed all the country of Liangchou stretching to beyond the desert. In the period Chênkuan (627-649), Li Ching defeated the T'ukuhun, Hou Chünchi subdued Kaoch'ang, and Ashihna Shê'rh opened up the western countries, and founded the four chên, and all that the sovereigns of old could not subdue became subjects of the empire, so that the territories of the Ch'in and Han were not equal to those of our dynasty. Thereupon, annual levies were made on the able-bodied men to the east of the mountains to be sent on garrison duty, and the silk was all converted into army stores. Military colonies were established to provide grain, and government herds to supply sheep and horses. Large garrisons of 10,000, and small garrisons of 1,000 men, guarded the watch-towers, and patrolled in a line of 10,000 li to keep away the hostile Ch'iang. A governor-general of Lungyu was stationed at Shanchou, a governor-general of Hohsi at Liangchou, and a governor-general of

Anhsi at Peit'ing, while in Kuannui the governor-general of Sofang was stationed at Lingchou, and there was also at Shouhsiangch'êng a viceroy established to defend it against the Fan.

When the T'ungkuan was lost, and Ho and Lo cut off by troops, all the soldiers stationed in Ho, Lung, and Sofang, were recalled to settle the difficulties of the state, to accompany the Emperor in his flight. Thus, at this time, all the old camps and border cities were left ungarrisoned, and from the period Chienyuan (758-759), the T'ufan, taking advantage of our difficulties, daily encroached on the borders, and the citizens were either carried off and massacred or wandered about to die in ditches, till, after the lapse of some years, all the country to the west of Fênghsiang and to the north of Pinchou belonged to the Fan barbarians, and several tens of chou were lost.

In the 1st year of the reign of Sutsung (756), in the first month, on the cyclical day chia ch'ên, a T'ufan mission arrived at court to ask for peace. The Emperor ordered the ministers of state, Kuo Tzŭyi(44), Hsiao Hua, and P'ei Tsunch'ing, to entertain them at a banquet, and to proceed to the Kuangtsêssŭ, to conclude a sworn treaty, sacrificing the three victims, and smearing the lips with the blood(45). It has never been customary to conduct affairs in a Buddhist temple, and we propose on the morrow to be allowed to go to the Hunglussŭ(46), to smear blood in accordance with the rites of the Fan barbarians. This was allowed.

In the 1st year of Paoying (762), the 6th month, the T'ufan sent two envoys, Chufan and Mang'rh, with tribute of the products of their country, to the Emperor. He received them in one of the palaces, and rewarded each according to his rank with presents. The western mountains of Chiennan, which bordered on the T'ufan Ti Ch'iang, had been from the period Wutê (618-627) divided into chou and hsien, and garrisoned. It is the Tsolu of the Han dynasty. From the epoch Chienyuan this also was lost to the T'ufan.

In the 2nd year of Paoying (763), the 3rd month, the Emperor despatched two officers, Li Chihfang and Ts'ui Lun,

on a mission to T'ufan, but as soon as they reached the frontier they were detained.

In the 1st year of Kuangtê (763), the 9th month, the T'ufan attacked and took Chingchou, the governor of which, Kao Hui, surrendered to them. In the 10th month they invaded Pinchou, and took Fengt'ienhuen. Kuo Tzūyi was sent to the west to oppose the T'ufan, but an army of over 200,000 T'ukuhun and Tanghsiang had penetrated from Lungkuang to the east, and Kuo Tzūyi led back his troops. The imperial chariot was driven to Shangchou and the capital left unguarded. The traitor general, Kao Hui, led the T'ufan into the imperial capital, and in concert with the T'ufan generalissimo, Machungying, set up the son of the late Prince of Pin, Ch'enghung, the Prince of Kuangwu, as Emperor, who chose Tashê as the title of his reign, and appointed the various officers of state.

Kuo Tzūyi led his troops southwards to defend Shangchou. The T'ufan, after occupying the city fifteen days, retired, and the imperial army recovered the capital, Kuo Tzūyi being appointed governor. When the Emperor first went to the east the officers with their families all fled southwards to Ching and Hsiang, or went into the mountains to hide, and the soldiers of the imperial armies broke up into armed bands infesting and blocking all the country. Kuo Tzūyi, at the head of some hundreds of his immediate followers, with his wives, children, and slaves, went south into the Niuhsinku, taking some hundreds of camels, horses, carts, and oxen. Tzūyi remained there, not knowing which way to turn, till the officers, Wang Yench'ang and Li E, came, and said to him: "Your Excellency occupies the post of commander-in-chief. The sovereign is toiling outside in the dust, the affairs of the state have come to such a pass, and the power of the T'ufan is daily increasing, and you ought not to be seeking rest in the mountains. Why not go south to Shangchou, and gradually make your way to the imperial camp?" Tzūyi immediately consented. Yench'ang added: "Should the T'ufan find out that your Excellency has gone south, they will detach soldiers to cut you off, so that to go

by the main road would court disaster, and you had better select the Yüshan road to travel by, as they would never guess it." Tzüyi again agreed. The two officers both accompanied him. His body of some thousand men, on account of the narrowness of the mountain road, stretched in a line of a hundred li, and made such slow progress that the other two, fearing pursuit in a narrow path where the van could not help the rear, went to Taohuik'ou by a different way. They crossed difficult torrents, climbed mountain passes, and finally reached Shangchou.

Before their arrival the general of the six armies, Chang Chihch'ieh, with some hundreds of his own standard, had fled from the city to Shangchou, and they had plundered the officers of the court and scholars, who were trying to escape, as well as robbed the inhabitants of money, property, saddles, and horses; and this had been going on for days. They remonstrated with the general, saying: "You have the post of general of the imperial army, yet when your troops were defeated, you did not march to the imperial residence, but allowed your subordinates to plunder. Is this the part of a loyal subject? Now that his Excellency Kuo, the commander-in-chief, is trying to reach Lonan, let the general restore the discipline of his soldiers and promise them punishment or reward, and beg his Excellency to take command, to plan the recovery of Ch'angan. This would redound to the fame of the general." Chihch'ieh gladly consented. The other generals hastened to place themselves under the orders of Kuo Tzüyi, as soon as he reached Shangchou.

When the T'ufan were about to enter the capital, a former high official, Ying Chungch'ing, escaped the danger, leaving his saddle, horse, and robes in the hands of the robbers. Chungch'ing, when he reached Lant'ien, gathered together scattered troops, and brave recruits, till he had over a hundred followers, and defended Lant'ien on the south against the T'ufan. His army gradually increased till it mounted up to over a thousand. When Tzüyi reached Shangchou, he knew nothing of this affair of Chungch'ing.

He enlisted men to enquire into the strength of the rebels. The general, Chungsun Ch'üanhsü, volunteered, and was sent with a company of 200 horsemen; Ti Wuch'i was appointed governor of the capital to assist in the recovery of Ch'angan. As soon as Ch'üanhsü reached Hankungtui, in the daytime he beat drums, and spread abroad flags and banners, and in the night lit many fires, to deceive the T'ufan. When he heard of the existence of the imperial troops, his energies were redoubled, and they opened up mutual communication, and sent to inform Tz'üyi of their strength. Chungch'ing, with over 200 horsemen, made a detour and crossed the Ch'anshui. The T'ufan, alarmed, questioned the people, who, in order to deceive them, replied: "His Excellency Kuo is leading an army from Shangchou, with the project of retaking Ch'angan, a large army the number of which we know not." The rebels, believing in the truth of this, withdrew their army and retired, a remnant being left in the city. The general Wang Fu led his troops from the hunting-park into the city with drums beating and loud shouts, and Chungch'ing's force also entered. The T'ufan all fled away, and the imperial capital was recovered. Kuo Tz'üyi took advantage of the opportunity, and entered Ch'angan with beat of drum, so that men's minds were at rest.

The T'ufan retreated to Fênghsiang, where the governor-general shut the gates against them. They besieged it for some days, till the governor-general of Chênhsi, Ma Lin, led over 1000 valiant horsemen from Hohsi to relieve Yang Chihlieh, and conducted his troops into the city. On the morrow at dawn he rode fully armed straight into the midst of the rebel army, supported on either side by some hundred of his horsemen. Lin fought desperately, with loud shouts, and the enemy fell down, unable to withstand him; they were defeated, and retired. On the next day the rebel army, boasting of the valour of their braves, came up again to the walls to provoke a battle. Lin put on his armour and let down the hanging gate, whereupon they drew back, and all retreated, saying: "This general has no fear of death, there

is no resisting him, let us withdraw." They returned to their quarters in the lands of Yuan, Hui, Ch'êng, and Wei.

In the 12th month the Emperor returned to his capital.

This year they invaded on the south Sungchou, Weichou, and Paochou, and the city of Hsinglung in Yunshan.

In the 2nd year (763), the 5th month, they released Li Chihfang, who returned. In the 9th month, the traitor general, P'uku Huaiên(47), Prince of Taning, despatched from Lingwu his confederates, Fan Chichêng and Jên Fu, to lead the armies of the T'ufan and T'ukuhun to attack the imperial residence. In the 10th month, Huaiên's army reached Pinchou and offered battle. The governor-general, Pai Hsiaotê, defended the city against them, and blunted the edge of their power. The rebel army next approached Fêngt'ienhsien, and encamped twenty li to the west of the city. Kuo Tz'üi was encamped at Fêngt'ien, but kept his army in garrison, and would not fight. A general from thirty li to the west of Pinchou despatched 250 swift horsemen and 50 foot-soldiers to destroy the camp of Huaiên; they defeated an army of 5000, cut off several thousand heads and took 85 prisoners, including four chief generals, as well as 500 horses. In the 11th month, Huaiên led the T'ufan army back.

In the 2nd year of Kuangtê (764), the governor-general of Hohsi, Yang Chihlich, was besieged in Liangchou, and defended the city several years, but it was isolated with no help; he escaped alive, and fled westwards to Kanchou, and Liangchou was also lost to the enemy.

In the 1st year of Yungt'ai (765), the 3rd month, the T'ufan asked for peace. The ministers of state, Yuan Tsai and Tu Hungchien, were sent to the Hsingt'angssü, to make a sworn covenant with them, and the ceremony was performed.

In the autumn, the 9th month, P'uku Huaiên enticed the T'ufan and Huiho to attack on the south the imperial residence. The T'ufan generals, Shangchiehhsitsanmo, Shanghsitungtsan, Shangyehhsi, and Machungying, at the head of an army of 200,000 men, came to the borders of Fêngt'ien. The governor-general of Pinchou was unable to withstand

them, and the capital was strictly guarded. The generals of Sofang had previously encamped their troops at Fêngt'ien to resist them. A decree recalled the assistant commander-in-chief, Kuo Tzüyi, from Hochungfu, to lead his forces with all speed to the rescue, and he encamped at Chingyang. The other generals all encamped their troops to garrison vital positions.

When the T'ufan first pitched their tents at Fêngt'ien the general Hun Jihchin rode alone into their midst, followed closely by 200 valiant horsemen, and surprised their camp, shooting and spearing right and left till the rebels fled in alarm, and none escaped the point of the arrow. Jihchin seized a Fan general, and galloped back with him. During the struggles of this general he lost his quiver, but not one of his men was wounded by spear or arrow. When the army saw this, their bravery was redoubled.

On the morrow the whole T'ufan force besieged him. Jihchin ordered stones to be projected from the carriage-engines, and made ready the bows and crossbows, killing and wounding heaps of the enemy, and after some days they collected their troops and returned to camp. Soon after Jihchin attacked the rebel camp in the night below Liang-mushên, and killed over a thousand, captured 500 prisoners, with camels, horses, stores, and weapons. He sent to the Emperor an open despatch with the news of his victory. He then encamped at Maweitien in Fêngt'ien, and between the 19th and 25th day of the same month fought more than two hundred engagements, in which he defeated 100,000 of the T'ufan, cut off 5,000 heads, and took 160 prisoners, 1,242 horses, 115 camels, with stores, weapons, umbrellas, in all some 30,000 articles.

The Emperor next decided himself to take command, requisitioned the horses of the court officials, and established recruiting stations in the capital. The capital was in great alarm, and the citizens all deserted their houses, the large gates being pierced with holes for exit. The court officials also trembled with fear, and eight or nine tenths of their families went into hiding, in spite of prohibitory decrees.

The governor-general, Ma Lin, fell in with some 400 T'ufan scouts riding over the eastern plains of Wukung, and despatched a body of 50 against them, who killed them all without leaving one alive.

Rain fell on the 17th day, and did not stop till the evening of the 25th; it was considered to be aid from heaven. The T'ufan moved their camp to Lich'uanhsien, north of the Chiutsungshan, attacking and plundering Lich'uan. They then retreated to the north of Yungshou, where they met the army of the Huiho, and returned to plunder Fêngt'ien. The T'ufan again came to Maweitien, where they burnt the dwellings of the inhabitants and then retreated. The traitor Jên Fu, with over 5000 men, attacked Paishuihsien, and sacked T'ungchou.

From the year before, when the T'ufan attacked the imperial residence, and afterwards, when their troops were encamped at the Chungweich'iao and Shufêngch'eng, till now, their attacks continued. As soon as they heard of the death of Huaiên, his troops rebelled, quarrelled among themselves, and fled. The two nations, suspicious and divided, disputed for supremacy, and camped in separate places. The Huiho were angry, and the T'ufan roamed to Yaoti. Three thousand mounted Huiho came to Chingyang to give in their allegiance, and offered to aid in an attack on the T'ufan; and Kuo Tzūyi accepted their offer. Thereupon the Prince Pai Yuankuang united his forces with the Huiho, and in Chingyang, fifty li east of Lingt'aihsien, they attacked and defeated the T'ufan, killing and taking prisoners, and capturing camels, horses, oxen and sheep in large numbers. P'uku Mingch'ên surrendered. The Emperor gave up the project of a personal expedition, the capital was released from its state of siege, and the ministers and officials presented memorials of congratulation.

In the 2nd year of Yungt'ai (766), the 2nd month, the Emperor appointed Yang Chi to conclude a new peace with the T'ufan. In the 4th month the T'ufan sent the chief Lunhsi-tsang, accompanied by over a hundred men, to go with Chi to court and offer thanks for the renewal of good relations.

In the 2nd year of Tali (767) they invaded Lingchou, where, in the 10th month, 20,000 T'ufan were defeated, 500 made prisoners, and 1500 horses taken. In the 11th month the envoy Hsieh Chingsien returned from a mission to T'ufan, and the chief Lunhsiling accompanied him to court. Chingsien memorialized that the tsanp'u asked for Fêng-linkuan to be made the boundary. Shortly after they sent another envoy, Luhsi, with fifteen men, to court.

In the 3rd year (768), the 8th month, 100,000 Tu'fan invaded Lingwu, and their great general Shangtsanmo invaded Pinchou.

Before this time Shanghsichieh, from the period Paoying, had several times invaded the borders, and when, having acquired great fame, he retired from old age, he was replaced by Shangtsanmo as governor-general of the east, with rule over the provinces of Ho and Lung.

The governor-general of Pinning, Ma Lin, defeated an army of over 20,000, and presented the prisoners taken to the Emperor. In the 9th month they invaded Lingchou, where the Sofang cavalry general, Pai Yuankuang, defeated them, and soon after again defeated them, capturing several thousand sheep and horses. The Kuannui assistant commander-in-chief, Kuo Tz'üyi, defeated an army of 60,000 T'ufan in Lingwu. In the 12th month, on account of the Fan invasions and yearly plunder of the western borders, the garrisons were reinforced, and Ma Lin was moved to defend Chingchou with the appointment of governor-general of Chingyuan. In Chiennan, at Hsieh'uan, there was another defeat of 10,000 T'ufan.

In the 5th year (770), the 5th month, the five chou An, Hsi, T'o, Ching, and Kung, were moved to vital positions in the mountains to resist the T'ufan.

In the autumn of the 8th year (773) 60,000 T'ufan horsemen invaded Lingwu, trampled down our corn and retired. In the 10th month they invaded Chingchou and Pinchou. Kuo Tz'üyi sent the general of the van, Hun Hsien, who engaged the rebels at Yilu, but our army was unsuccessful, Shih Chi was killed, with two other lieutenant-generals, and more than a thousand of the inhabitants of the country were driven off. The same night Hun Hsien, having collected

together the scattered soldiers, invaded the enemy's camp, while Ma Lin at the same time fell upon the baggage-train, slaughtering several thousands, and the rebels were dispersed. Kuo Tzūyi totally defeated a T'ufan army of 100,000 men.

When the T'ufan first attacked our Pinchou territory, Ma Lin, with some 2,000 valiant warriors, made a secret night foray on the rebel camp, and shot a rebel leopard-skin general in the eye; the rebels supporting him broke out into loud cries of lamentation, and the whole camp was evacuated. Ma Lin thereby recovered over 200 of the brave troops of Sofang, and 700 of the common people, as well as several hundreds of camels and horses.

In the 9th year (774), the 4th month, on account of the T'ufan invasions and troubles, the frontier guards were reinforced, and the Emperor issued a decree: "We hereby command Tzūyi with 50,000 foot and horse of Shangchün, Peiti, Ssūsai, Wuyuan, Yieh'ü, Chihu, and Hsienpi, to take up a strong position in Hsünyi, and reinforce the old troops: Paoyü with 30,000 men from Kaotu in Chin and Shangtang in Hian, the loyal natives of Hohuang, and the young men of Ch'ienlung, to form a line on the high ground, in a continuous series of camps: Ma Lin, with 30,000 men of Hsiyü Ch'ient'ing and Chüshih Houpu, with the warriors of Kuangwu and the levies of Hsiachi, to encamp at Yuanchou, a strong reserve for the great army: Chungch'êng, with 20,000 men of the trained bands of Wulo, and the brave army of Yuti, to go from Ch'iyang to the north: and Hsijang, with the trained bands of the capital, and the sons of the brave men of the imperial armies, to go from Weishang to the west. Let a united army of 40,000 men from Pien, Sung, Tzū, Ch'ing, Ho, Yang, Yu, and Chi, be divided and marshalled in the front and rear, and 60,000 from Wei, Ch'êng, Tê, Chao, Yi, and Yung, be massed to the left and right. We will, in our palace, take command of the guards, and ourselves issue orders to the generals. We give thousands of ounces of gold for expenses, and bestow the horses of the imperial stud. For the armour and weapons, army equipment and frontier stores, the officials in charge of

each will carefully provide everything. We will give to you generals and ministers, officers both civil and military, of ability and energy. The victory of an army depends on union, and good fighters do not wait to be marshalled. Each one must guard his own frontier, camping on and defending the important posts, and the smoke-towers must be lighted, the front and rear answering each other. Should they repent of their misdeeds, there will be no need for troubling the people; but if still contumacious we must ourselves punish them, and they will afterwards ask to surrender to the empire. For the orders of the various armies and plans of invasion and conquest, further commands will be issued."

In the 11th year (776), the 1st month, the governor-general of Chiennan, Ts'ui Ning, inflicted a great defeat on four T'ufan governors, with T'uchüeh, T'uhun, Ti, Man, Ch'iang and Tanghsiang, an allied army of over 200,000 men, cutting off 10,000 heads, taking alive the commander of the forces of Lach'eng and 1,350 prisoners, who were presented at the gate of the palace, and oxen, sheep, war stores, material and weapons more than could be counted.

The T'ufan, having failed in their projects, invaded Li and Ya, whereupon the Chiennan troops, in union with the Nanchao, fought with and defeated them, capturing the great 'lung' officer Lunch'ijan.

In the 12th year (777), the 9th month, they invaded Fang-chou, plundered the Tanghsiang sheep and horses and retired. In the 11th month Ts'ui Ning took the T'ufan Wanghan city.

The governor-general of Shannan Hsitao, Chang Hsienkung, fought a battle at Minchou, where the T'ufan fled. Ts'ui Ning defeated the Sanlu of the Western Hills and the soldiers of Ch'iungnan, and cut off 8,000 heads.

In the 13th year (778), the enemy's great chief, Machungying, with 40,000 horsemen, invaded the Lingchou barrier. The officer in charge of the military colonies was dismissed on account of his mismanagement. Machungying ravaged Yen and Ch'ing and withdrew.

In the 14th year (779), the 8th month, the Emperor appointed Wei Lun, with special credentials, envoy to T'ufan, to take with him 500 Fan captives back to their country.

In the 10th month the T'ufan, at the head of an army of 200,000 of the Southern Man, invaded in three bodies, one into Maochou, across the Wênch'uan and the Kuank'ou,

another into Fuwên past Fangwei and Paipa, a third from Li and Yu through the Ch'iunglai pass, destroying a number of cities in succession. Four thousand imperial troops and five thousand men from Yuchou were despatched, who attacked them together and greatly defeated them.

In the 1st year of Chienchung (780), the 4th month, Wei Lun reached his destination. During the latter part of the Tali period several of their missions of inquiry had been successively detained, and not sent back. When captives were taken, eunuchs were always sent in charge of them to take them to Chiangling, and they demanded money from them in addition to the expenses of their maintenance, so that they were distressed beyond measure. Last year, in the winter, when the T'ufan levied a great army and invaded the empire by three roads, Têtsung had but just succeeded to the throne. He determined to rule the four quarters with virtue, and collected five hundred of the chained captives, gave to each a suit of clothes, and sent Wei Lun to take them back to their country, and to conclude a treaty of peace, and also commanded the frontier generals to put a stop to plunder and invasion.

When the T'ufan first heard of the return of these men, they were incredulous, but as soon as the Fan captives entered their borders the people were all awed with the power, and grateful for the grace of the Emperor. The tsanp'u, Ch'ilitsan, addressing Wei Lun, said :

The surname of Ch'ilitsan was Hulut'i.

"I did not know of your coming, and I have three causes of sorrow. What am I to do ? " Wei Lun replied : " I do not understand what you refer to." Ch'ilitsan said : " I was ignorant of the loss the empire had sustained, and was unable to condole and mourn—this is the first. I knew not the day of the imperial funeral, and was unable to present offerings, and fulfil the proper rites—this is the second. I knew not of the holy and wise accession of the Emperor, my father-in-law, and despatched armies by three parallel roads. The army of Lingwu, having already heard of your appointment, has halted. But the army of Shannan has invaded Fuwên, and

the army of Shu marched past Kuank'ou, and they have not yet been overtaken—this is my third sorrow.” He then sent envoys with despatches and presents to the Emperor, and in less than twenty days they returned with the imperial commands.

The commander-in-chief in Shu sent to the Emperor the captives which he had taken in battle, and the officers petitioned that they should be treated in accordance with the old practice, and sent to be slaves, but the sovereign replied: “Our wish for a treaty is on record, and can our words be double?” He therefore bestowed on each two pieces of silk, and a suit of clothes, and sent them back.

In the 5th month, Wei Lun was promoted, and again sent on a mission to T'ufan. In the winter they sent the chief minister, Lunch'inmingssü, and suite, fifty-five persons in all, who accompanied Wei Lun on his return, and offered productions of their country. When the T'ufan saw Lun on his second arrival, they were greatly rejoiced, and as soon as he reached his hotel entertained him with a band of music. After detaining him nine days, they sent him back, together with their chief minister, with the answer to the imperial command.

In the 2nd year (781), the 12th month, the secretary of the mission to T'ufan, Ch'ang Lu, in company with a T'ufan envoy, Lunhsinolo, came back from the Fan country. When Ch'ang Lu, with the envoy Ts'ui Hanhêng, first arrived at their hotel, the Tsanp'u ordered them to stop, and made them first produce the official despatch. That having been done, he sent this message to Hanhêng: “The imperial despatch you bring says: ‘The things offered as tribute have all been accepted, and now we bestow on our son-in-law a few presents for him to take when they arrive.’ Our great Fan and the T'ang nations are allied by marriage, and how is it that we are treated with the rites due to a subject? Again, you wish to fix the boundary to the west of Yunchou, but we propose that Holanshan be made the boundary. For the sworn ceremony we propose to follow that of the 2nd year of Chinglung (708), when the imperial despatch said: ‘When

the T'ang envoy arrives there, the son-in-law shall first conclude the sworn ceremony with him; and when the Fan envoy arrives here, we, the father-in-law, will ourselves take part in the ceremony with him.' Let, then, Hanhêng send a messenger to report to the Emperor that he may act."

Lu was sent back to report, and the imperial despatch was accordingly altered, the words 'offered as tribute' changed to 'presented,' 'bestowed' to 'given,' and 'for him to take' to 'for his acceptance,' the following sentences being added: "The former minister, Yang Yen, departed from the old practice, and is responsible for these errors. For the fixing of the boundaries, and the sworn ceremony, everything is conceded."

In the 3rd year (782), the 4th month, they released the generals, warriors, and Buddhist monks, who had been carried off to the Fan country, in all 800 persons, and sent them back in return for the delivery of the Fan captives.

In the 9th month, the envoy appointed to make peace with T'ufan, Ts'ui Hanhêng, accompanied by a Fan envoy, Ch'üleitsan, arrived. At this time the T'ufan chief minister, Shanghsichieh, who was tyrannical and fond of slaughter, having been overthrown and beaten in Chiennan, was anxious to wipe away his disgrace, and unwilling to make peace. The second minister, Shangchiehtsan, an able and politic man, reported to the tsanp'u to ask him to fix the boundary, and to conclude a treaty, so as to give rest to the inhabitants of the borders. The tsanp'u consented, and appointed Chiehtsan chief minister in place of Hichieh to negotiate the treaty of peace and friendship. The 15th day of the 6th month was fixed for the performance of the ceremony on the border, Ts'ui Hanhêng was appointed president of the court of entertainment; and Fan Tsê sent as envoy to T'ufan to conclude the negotiations. When Hanhêng first made the agreement with the T'ufan, the day for the performance of the ceremony was fixed; but when Hanhêng arrived, the negotiations were not finished, till the day was passed. Therefore the Emperor ordered Fan Tsê to go to Chiehtsan to fix another day for the ceremony, and

also sent the governor-general of Lungyu, Chang Yi, to take part with them on the occasion. Fan Tsê went to the old Yuanchou(48), where he had an interview with Shangchiehtsan, and they chose the 15th day of the first month of the coming year for the performance of the ceremony to the west of Ch'ingshui(49).

In the 1st month of the 4th year (783), the imperial decree was issued that Chang Yi and Shangchiehtsan should make a sworn compact at Ch'ingshui(49). When the time approached, Yi and Chiehtsan agreed that each party should proceed to the place where the altar was raised with 2,000 men, half of them to be armed and drawn up two hundred paces outside the altar, half unarmed attendants to be distributed below the altar. Chang Yi, with the masters of ceremony Ch'ying and Ch'ik'ang, and the treaty officials Ts'ui Hianhêng, Fan Tsê, Ch'ang Lu and Yü Yu, seven persons all in court costume; Shangchiehtsan with the generals and ministers of his nation, Lunhsichiatsang, Luntsangjê, Lunli, T'ossü, Kuanchê and Lunlihsü, also seven persons; ascended the altar together to perform the sworn ceremony. It had at first been agreed that the Han should sacrifice an ox, the Fan a horse; but Yi, ashamed of his part in the ceremony, wished to depreciate the rites, and said to Chiehtsan: "The Hân cannot cultivate the ground without oxen, the Fan cannot travel without horses, I propose therefore to substitute a sheep, pig and dog as the three victims." Chiehtsan consented. But there were no pigs outside the barrier, and Chiehtsan determined to take a wild ram, while Yi took a dog and a sheep. These victims were sacrificed on the north of the altar, the blood mingled in two vessels and smeared on the lips. The sworn covenant was: "The T'ang possess all under heaven, wherever are the footprints of Yü, and as far as boats and chariots can go there is no one that does not obey them. Under successive sovereigns their fame has increased, and its years have been prolonged, and the great empire of its sovereigns extended, till all within the four seas listen to its commands. With the T'ufan tsanp'u it has made matrimonial alliances to

strengthen the bonds of neighbourly friendship and unite the two countries, and the sovereigns have been allied as father and son-in-law for nearly two hundred years. Meanwhile, however, in consequence of minor disagreements, their good relations have been broken off by war, so that the border-land has been troubled and without a quiet year. The Emperor on his recent accession compassionated his black-haired people, and sent back the enslaved captives to their own country, and the Fan nation has exhibited good feeling and agreed to a mutual peace. Envoys have gone and returned, carrying in succession the orders of their sovereign, who has determined to put a stop to secret plotting and put by the chariots of war. They have, with the view of making the covenant of the two countries lasting, proposed to use the ancient sworn treaty, and the government, resolved to give rest to the natives of the border, have alienated their ancient territory, preferring good deeds to profit, and have made a solemn treaty in accordance with the agreement. The boundaries that the government now keep are: on the west of Chingchou the western mouth of the T'antsên pass, on the west of Lungchou the city Ch'ingshuihsien, and on the west of Fêngchou the city T'ungkuhsien; while in the western mountains of Chiennan, the east bank of the Tatu River is the Han boundary. The Fan nation rule over Lan, Wei, Yuan and Hui, reaching on the west to Lint'ao, and on the east as far as Ch'êngchou; and on the western frontier of Chiennan, the land of the Mo, Hsieh, and other Man, the south-west of the Tatu River is the Fan boundary. The places garrisoned by regular troops, the walled cities which are inhabited, and the Man tribes between the two borders subject to the Han, according to the present distribution of their lands, all are to remain as heretofore. On the north of the Yellow River from the ancient Hsinch'uanchün, to the north as far as the Taling, to the south as far as the Lot'oling of the Holanshan, shall be border-land, and all be neutral territory. With regard to the places not included in the covenant, wherever the Fan have garrisons the Fan shall keep, wherever the Han have garrisons the Han shall keep,

each retaining its present possessions, and not seeking to encroach on the other. The places that heretofore have not been garrisoned, shall not have troops stationed in them, nor shall walled cities be built, nor land cultivated. Now the generals and ministers of the two countries having been commissioned to meet, and having fasted and purified themselves in preparation for the ceremony, proclaim to the gods of heaven and earth, of the mountains and rivers, and call the gods to witness that their oath shall not be broken. The text of the covenant shall be preserved in the ancestral temple, and the officers in charge according to the regulations of the two nations shall always keep it."

Chiehtsan also produced a sworn covenant which he did not put into the pit where only the victims were buried.

After the conclusion of the sworn ceremony, Chiehtsan proposed to Yi to go to the south-west corner of the altar into a Buddhist tent to burn incense and make oath. When this was finished, they again ascended the altar, when they drank wine and both gave and received ceremonial presents, each offering the products of his country, as a mark of liberal friendship. Finally they returned home.

In the second month, the Emperor appointed Ts'ui Hanhêng to go with special credentials on a return mission to the Fan, and sent Ch'üchiatsan back with him. The Emperor had originally ordered the ministers and presidents of the boards to make a sworn covenant with the Fan minister Ch'üchiatsan on the altar at Fêngyili; but this covenant, on account of the meeting at Ch'ingshui, was not concluded, and the decree was withdrawn. Consequently Chiatsan was detained, and Hanhêng again sent on a mission to the tsanp'u.

In the 6th month the secretary of the return mission to Fan, Yü Yu, accompanied by the Fan envoy Lunchiamutsang, arrived from Ch'ingshui.

In the 7th month the President of the Board of Rites, Li K'uei, was appointed envoy to Fan to conclude the sworn covenant. The Emperor also ordered the ministers of state, Li Chungch'ên, Lu Ch'i, Kuan Po, and Ts'ui Ning, the pre-

sident of the Board of Works, Ch'iao Ling, with six other high officials, to make a sworn covenant with Ch'uchiatsan and his colleagues on the altar. When Yü Yu first came back from the Fan country he had agreed with Shangchiehtsan that as soon as the boundaries were fixed, they would send back the envoy; which was done. Because the altar at Fêngyi was within the walls of the city, it was inconvenient, and it was proposed to fix by divination a propitious site for an altar to the west of the capital. The rites were like those employed at the ceremony at Ch'ingshui. Two days before the ceremony the Emperor ordered the proper officers to announce it in the ancestral temple. The officials who took part in the sworn covenant fasted for three days and ascended the altar in court costume, where Kuan Po on his knees read aloud the covenant. When the ceremony was concluded the Emperor entertained them at a banquet, bestowed presents and sent them back.

In the 1st year of Hsingyuan (784), the 2nd month, Yü Ch'i was sent to Chingchou to superintend the T'ufan, and to consult with the governors of the cities as to encamping or leading them on. The T'ufan had come to the barrier to offer troops to help to settle the difficulties of the state; hence the despatch of this envoy. In the 4th month Shên Fang was sent to the Fan to devise a plan of campaign and to be superintendent of Anhsi and Peit'ing. In the same month Hun Hsien and the T'ufan Lunmanglo led an army and greatly defeated the generals of Chu Tzŭ(50), Han Ming, Chang T'ingchih and Sung Kueich'ao, at the Wutingch'uan at Wukung, where they cut off over 10,000 heads.

It was originally agreed with the enemy that after Ch'angan had been conquered, four chou, including Ching and Ling, should be given to them. There was a great pestilence, and in consequence they withdrew their men; yet after the conquest of Chu Tzŭ, they asked for the territory in accordance with the old agreement. The Son of Heaven made light of their services, and merely bestowed a decree, rewarding Chiehtsan and Manglo with 10,000 pieces of silk. Thereupon the enemy was dissatisfied.

In the 2nd year of Chênnyuan (786), Chao Yü was sent on a mission to the Fan. In the 8th month the T'ufan invaded the districts of Ching, Lung, Pin, and Ning, carrying off

men and herds, and plundering the crops, so that the borders were in great distress. The governors and the generals closed the gates of the cities and defended themselves, and nothing else. The capital was strictly guarded, and the Emperor despatched generals with troops to encamp at Hsienyang, and ordered the governor-general of Hochung to lead an army to the relief of Hsienyang. In the 9th month, when T'ufan light horsemen had penetrated as far as Haossü, the Emperor sent another army to encamp at Hsienyang, and ordered the general K'ang Ch'êng to be sent as envoy to the T'ufan. The T'ufan chief minister, Shangchiehtsan, had previously sent a succession of missions to ask for a solemn meeting to fix the boundaries. Thereupon Ch'êng was appointed envoy, and went to Joyuan, when he had an interview with Chiehtsan, who sent Lunch'it'o to return with Ch'êng.

In the same month the governor-general of Fênghsiang, Li Ch'êng, on account of the continued invasion of the T'ufan, sent his general Wang Pi to make a night attack on the enemy's camp, and to lead 3,000 picked braves into Ch'ienyang. His final instructions were: "The main army of the enemy must pass under the city walls. Be careful not to attack the front or rear; for even if the front or rear be defeated, the strength of the centre will be unimpaired, so that they will assault you in force, and you will certainly meet with disaster. Only wait till the front of the army has passed, and you see the five-square banner, and the tiger and leopard robes. This will be the main army; go out and take them by surprise, and you will gain rare fame." Wang Pi followed this advice, sallied out and attacked them, and the enemy was totally defeated. Our lieutenant-general was killed fighting bravely. They also invaded Fênghsiang up to the walls of the city, when Li C'hêng led out his troops against them, and they retired the same night.

In the 10th month Li Ch'êng sent troops which captured the T'ufan fortified town Tuishap'u, and greatly defeated them, burning the military stores, and slaying Huch'ülü-shêtsan and six other Fan chiefs, and sending their heads to the capital.

In the 11th month the T'ufan took Yenchou(51). As soon as the enemy reached this city, the governor, Tu Yenkuang sent out oxen and wine to feast them. The T'ufan said to him : " We want to occupy the city, will you lead your men away ? " Yenkuang, at the head of his troops, fled to Fuchou. In the 12th month they took Hsiachou(52), the governor of the city retiring with his troops, whereupon they took possession. Then they invaded Yinchou, which was an un-walled city, and the inhabitants all scattered and fled.

The Son of Heaven, on account of the distress and loss of the natives of the borders, decreed to remove from the principal halls of the palace, humbly confessing his faults, and ordered Lo Yuankuang to take measures for the recovery of Yen and Hsia.

In the spring of the 3rd year (787), Ts'ui Huan was appointed to go on a mission to the T'ufan ; and afterwards another envoy, La T'ien, was in turn sent. The governor-general of Hotung and Paoning, Ma Sui, came to have audience. Shangchiehtsan, when he took Yenchou and Hsiachou, left in each city a garrison of about 1,000 men, while he encamped with his main army at Mingsha, where he remained from last winter to this spring, during which time many of his sheep and horses died, so that his provisions were exhausted. The Emperor now sent the governor-general of Huachou and T'ungkuan Lo Yuankuang, and the governor-general of Pinning Han Yukuai, with their own troops, and the soldiers of Fenghsiang, Fu, and Pin, and the other districts, to encamp on the frontier, while he ordered Ma Sui to lead his army to wait at Shihchou, and occupy the opposite bank of the river to Lo Yuankuang, so as to attack them between two horns. As soon as Chiehtsan heard of this, he was greatly alarmed, and sent a succession of envoys to ask for peace, and for a renewal of the sworn convention, all of which the Emperor refused. Then he sent his chief general, Lunchiajê with valuable gifts, and humble words, to beg Sui to ask for a treaty. Sui memorialized, but the Emperor again refused, ordering him to attack them with united forces and drive them away. Sui was fond of bribes and easily deceived, and he came to court with Lunchiajê, affirming positively that their words were to be trusted, and

that a sworn treaty should be granted, and at last the Emperor consented. While Sui was at court the armies remained passively intrenched, while Chiehtsan suddenly evacuated Hsiachou, and retreated, although many of the horses had died, so that the men were on foot. In the summer there was a convention at P'ingliang, but immediately afterwards they broke the treaty. On account of all this, Sui was deprived of his command, and kept out of office.

In the 4th month, Ts'ui Huan arrived from Mingsha. When he first reached Mingsha, he had an interview with Shangchiehtsan, and asked him why he had broken the treaty by taking Yenchou and Hsiachou. He replied, "Because of the destruction of the monument fixing the boundary, I feared that the two countries would disregard the convention, and invade each other's territory, therefore I came to the frontier to ask for a renewal of the old friendly relations. Again, the T'ufan troops, which that year defeated the army of Chu Tzū at Wukung, have not received the reward promised; for this reason also we came. As soon as we reached Chingchou, the governor shut himself up in the city, and would give no answer to our questions. We then marched to Fênghsiang, and tried to communicate with His Excellency Li, but he also would not see us or receive our messengers. Finally Kang Ch'êng and Wang Chên were sent to us, but when they arrived neither had authority to speak for the Empire. I daily looked for the appointment of a great minister as envoy, and was ready to explain my conduct, but none really came. Then I led back my troops. The commanders of the two cities of Yen and Hsia, afraid of our army, offered their cities to us, asking quarter, and fled; we did not attack and take them. Now Your Excellency, a relative of the Emperor, has special powers; and if you will cement friendship by a new-sworn ceremony, the Fan are willing. As regards the day of the meeting, and the place for fixing the boundary, we will obey your commands. When you shall have returned and reported, and it be all settled, we will give up to you Yen and Hsia." He also said: "At the meeting at Ch'ingshui too few took part

in the ceremony, therefore the peace has been disregarded, and made light of as not complete. Now let Fan ministers, and commander-in-chief, and other officers—in all twenty-one persons—go to Lingchou, the governor-general of which, Tu Hsich'uan, is a lover of peace and virtue, and is well known outside the border; and I propose that he be appointed to preside over the ceremony, while the governor-general of Chingchou, Li Kuan, might officiate as joint president." They both presented memorials.

The Emperor was informed by Huan that he had bribed some of the Fan officers to tell him the exact number of their troops, and that they amounted to 59,000 men and over 86,000 horses, including however only 30,000 fighting warriors, the rest mere boys, swelling the number to the full total. The same day he appointed Ts'ui Huan President of the Board of Entertainment, and sent him again to the T'ufan with this reply to Shangchiehtsan: "Tu Hsich'uan is on duty at Lingchou, and cannot leave the border, while Li Kuan has been transferred to another post. We have appointed Hun Hsien envoy to conclude a sworn treaty, and have fixed the 24th day of the 5th month to repeat the ceremony at Ch'ingshui." He also ordered him to say that Yen and H'sia must be returned to us before the ceremony. The Emperor was suspicious of the trustworthiness of the Fan, and made the recovery of these cities a test.

In the 5th month Hun Hsien, having been appointed envoy to conclude the sworn treaty, had a final audience to receive instructions. The President of the Board of War, Ts'ui Hanhêng, was appointed assistant-envoy, and Chêng Shuchü secretary. When Hun Hsien proceeded to the place of meeting, the Sovereign ordered him to take with him an army of 20,000 men, and despatched the governor-general of Huachou and T'ungkuan, Lo Yuankuang, to accompany him. The Emperor ordered the ministers of state to invite the T'ufan envoy, Lunhsitsan, and his colleagues, to consult with the grand council on the place to be fixed for the meeting. Ts'ui Huan and Shangchiehtsan had at first agreed to repeat the sworn ceremony at Ch'ingshui,

and also that our Yenchou and Hsiachou should be previously given up, but Chiehtsan afterwards said: "Ch'ingshui is not an auspicious territory, and I propose that the meeting be held in Yuanchou, at T'ulishu. I also propose after the conclusion of the sworn ceremony to give up the two cities." The envoy sent by Huan and Lunhsitsan reported this in a joint memorial. The Emperor, anxious to show clemency to foreigners, granted everything, and fixed the 15th day of the 5th month for the ceremony at T'ulishu.

The Emperor called the ministers of state to deliberate again, after the general Ma Yulin had reported that the T'ulishu country was full of difficult passes, and that he feared a secret ambush of T'ufan troops and consequent disaster to us; whereas P'ingliang was a plain, open on all sides, and besides close to Chingchou(53), and therefore more advantageous. Thereupon they determined that the place for the ceremony should be the valley of P'ingliang. Meanwhile the Fan envoy, Lunhsitsan, had started, but he was pursued and brought back, told of the new decision, and sent away again.

When Hun Hsien and Shangchiehtsan met at P'ingliang, they agreed at first to draw up 3,000 men on the east and west side of the altar, while 400 unarmed men came forward below the altar. Just before the ceremony they also agreed each to have mounted scouts to watch the movements of the other. Chiehtsan massed several tens of thousands of picked horsemen on the west of the altar; and the Fan scouts rode through and through our ranks, while as soon as Hsien's general, Liang Fêngchên, at the head of sixty horsemen, rode into the centre of the Fan army, they were all immediately seized and bound; Hsien had provided for nothing. Chiehtsan sent messengers to Hsien to say: "I propose that the minister and his subordinates put on their official robes and hats, swords and jewels, and wait for instructions." This was to induce them to dismount from their horses so that they might be captured. Hsien, Ts'ui Hanhêng and Sung Fêngch'ao all entered the tent together, calm and unsuspecting. Chiehtsan ordered the drums to be

beaten three times, and his army came on shouting wildly. Hsien rushed out from the back of the tent and succeeded in catching a stray horse on which he mounted and galloped away. The horse had no bit in its mouth, and Hsien had to lean over its mane to guide it with his hands, and it was only after he had ridden for several miles that he got the bit into its mouth, and it was owing to this that the arrows of the pursuing horsemen passed by without wounding him. Only one of his generals, Hsin Jung, collected some hundreds of men, and occupying a hillock on the north fought with the enemy, and he was soon surrounded by the whole army, overpowered and forced to surrender. Fêngch'ao and the Secretary were both killed by soldiers during the tumult. Hanhêng and three eunuchs and a number of high officials, generals and secretaries, in all some sixty persons, were captured. Four or five hundred other officers, warriors and followers were killed, and over a thousand men carried away captive, all of whom had their clothes stripped off. When Hanhêng was attacked by a crowd of warriors, his officer Lü Wên threw himself between and was wounded by the sword which Hanhêng thus escaped. The latter said to those who had taken him prisoner in the foreign tongue: "I am the Han envoy, the president Ts'ui. Chiehtsan and I are friends, and if you kill me Chiehtsan will also kill you." Therefore they saved his life.

The captives were all driven off to the west, with their hands bound behind them, each one with a piece of wood reaching from the neck to the feet tied to his body with three pieces of hair rope, while they were fastened together by the hair with another rope. At night they were all thrown on the ground with the ropes fastened to the hair pegged down, and they were covered with pieces of felt, on which the guards lay down to prevent their escape. As soon as they reached the ancient Yuanchou, Chiehtsan, who was seated in his tent, had them brought before him, and repeatedly abused the government, and, enraged with Hun Hsien, said: "The victory at Wukung was due entirely to our power, and you promised us in return Chingchou and Lingchou, but you have

all eaten your words and shown the deepest ingratitude, so that our whole nation is enraged. I broke through the ceremony in order to capture Hun Hsien, for whom I had had gilded fetters made, in which to present him to the tsanp'u. But he escaped, and I only succeeded in taking you. I will send three of you back." Lü Wên, still suffering from his wound, was also brought forward, and Chiehtsan praised his devotion and gave him valuable presents. Chiehtsan next led his army to Shihmên, and sent back to us the eunuch Chü Wênchên, the generals Ma Ning and Ma An. He sent Hanhêng and his secretary to be imprisoned in Hochou, while the rest were shut up either in the ancient K'uochou or Shanchou.

Chiehtsan originally invited Tu Hsieh'uan and Li Kuan to take part in a sworn ceremony in order to capture the two governors-general, and to lead his bravest warriors to assault the capital. When they did not go, he then tried to capture Hun Hsien, and rode many times invading our borders, and plotting similar designs. The Emperor sent the eunuch Wang Tzühêng with despatches to Chiehtsan, but he was not admitted in the Fan borders and returned. When first Hsien and Lo Yuankuang were about to go to Chingchou, the latter said to Hsien: "I am ordered by the Emperor to encamp at P'anyuanp'u, so as to be ready to help your Excellency. But this town is over twenty miles from the place of meeting, and the Fan are treacherous, so that if your Excellency should be in danger, I shall not know it; I propose therefore to pitch my camp closer, so as to be prepared for an emergency." But Hsien would not allow this in that it was contrary to the decree. Yuankuang, however, advanced simultaneously. Hsien's camp was some seven miles to the east of the place fixed for the sworn ceremony, while Yuankuang's camp was adjoining, encircled by deep trenches and high palisades, while the defences of the former could be crossed by a jump. When Hsien came flying back alone on horseback, the general he had left in command of his camp had lost control over his troops, and they had scattered and fled, so that when Hsien rode up there was only an empty camp, the material, weapons, money and provisions had all

disappeared. Happily Yuankuang's troops remained at their posts within his camp, and as soon as Hsien gained it the rebel horsemen who were in pursuit at once retired. Yuankuang sent on in front his baggage waggons and followed himself with Hsien, all obeyed his clear orders, kept steadily in their ranks and returned. Hsien afterwards fortified himself in Fêngt'ien.

In the 6th month, on account of a great epidemic, the T'u-fan burnt the city gates of Yenchou and Hsiachou, demolished the walls and withdrew, whereupon Tu Hsieh'uan detached troops to occupy the cities.

In the 7th month this decree was issued: "Of late the T'u-fan have harassed the borders and destroyed the lives of the people, they have ravaged Lungtung and invaded far into Hoch'ü. Having but just put down the sword and spear, our wounded not yet healed, we resolved on a policy of rest from fighting and attack, and consented to their request for peace, in spite of our knowledge that the villainous barbarians were devoted to gain and covetous, and had often broken their bonds of alliance. We agreed to have a meeting for a sworn ceremony, but their secret guile was manifested, and they desecrated the solemn altar like a wicked and lying herd of sheep or dogs, and took advantage of the trusting faith of our civil and military officers who have thus fallen unprepared into danger. We are deeply grieved, for it is due entirely to our own want of understanding that things have come to such a pass; we have failed in virtue before the myriads of our people, and become a byword to the four quarters of the world. We mourn early and late, but repentance is unavailing, for now the President of the Board of War, Ts'ui Hanhêng, and his colleagues, all good scholars of the nation and loyal ministers of our dynasty, are lying bound in round tents or lost in foreign countries. Compassionating their families, who are haply exposed to daily want, we hereby give posts to their children, so that some means of subsistence may be provided. Let Hanhêng's son be promoted to an office of the seventh grade, and the sons of all the officers civil and military be

given an official post, and let the proper officers immediately draw up a list of the names and rank and report to us."

Afterwards T'ang Liangch'ên was sent with 600 men to garrison P'anyuanp'u, and Su Taip'ing with 500 men to garrison Lungchou.

In the 8th month, Ts'ui Hanhêng arrived from T'ufan. At first Hanhêng and his fellow-captives were all taken to Hoehou, and Shangchiehtsan then ordered Hanhêng, the general Mêng Jihhua, and the eunuch Lin Yenyung, to be brought to Shihmên and sent off, telling off 50 horsemen to escort them to the frontier, who also brought despatches and asked to be admitted, but as soon as they reached P'anyuan, Li Kuan sent to stop them and tell them that a decree had been issued forbidding the reception of Fan envoys. The despatches were retained, the men sent back. Thereupon, the T'ufan led an army of the Ch'iang and Hun (54) to attack the borders, encamping both at P'ank'ou and at Ch'ingshihling. The T'ufan army had previously marched from P'ank'ou eastwards in three divisions, the first to Lungchou, the second to the east of Ch'ienyang, the third to T'aokanyuan, and at this time they were all encamped in the places indicated, their tents stretching over several tens of li. The enemies' camp at Ch'ienyang was only thirteen miles from Fênghsiang, and the capital trembled with fear, the scholars and citizens running about distracted. They despatched Ch'iang and Hun troops dressed in Chinese armour, who pretended to belong to the army of Hsing Chunyu, and suddenly appeared at Wushan, and the northern border of Paochi, where they burnt the dwelling-houses, carried off the inhabitants and their flocks, and decapitated the Wushan god. The able-bodied of the people were driven off, the sick and old massacred or thrown aside with hands cut off or eyes pierced. Li Ch'êng had had large trees felled at Fênghsiang to block the Anhua pass, but the enemy now burnt them all.

In the 9th month, the general Shih Chichang was ordered to take 3,000 men to garrison Wukung, and T'ang Liangch'ên summoned from P'anyuan to garrison the city Poli. During this month, the T'ufan ravaged the lands of Ch'ienyang,

Wushan, and Huat'ing, and carried off over 10,000 men and women, all of whom were sent through the Anhua pass to the west to be distributed as slaves among the Ch'iang and Hun, who said to them: "Look towards the east and weep a last farewell of your native country." All broke out into loud lamentation, several hundred died of grief on the spot, while more than a thousand threw themselves over precipices and were killed. When the news arrived, the whole nation mourned.

Hun Hsien despatched a general with 3,000 men to defend Haossü. This month the T'ufan army came again, and encamped at Fêngyi and at Huat'ing. The council deliberated on a plan for raising the T'ufan siege. The governor of Lungchou, Han Ch'ingmien, and Su T'ai'ing, led out troops in the night, who hid at Tahsiangk'an, and at midnight had fires lighted, both here and within the city, in answer to each other. The rebels were greatly alarmed, and when the camp was attacked, they retreated in disorder.

At this time, the T'ufan attacked and took Huat'ing. When they began the siege of Huat'ing, they first cut off the water-supply. The general in command, who was besieged with his garrison, and the people, in all some 3,000 men, sent messengers by a bye-path to ask aid from Lungchou, the governor of which despatched Su T'ai'ing at the head of 1,500 men. On the road some hundred straggling horsemen were destroyed by the enemy, and Su T'ai'ing, who was naturally timorous, and had no aptitude for war, at once led his army back. The enemy, thereupon, every day sent some thousand light horse to Lungchou, and the city troops dared not sally out again. Four days after the water had been cut off, no troops coming to their succour, and the enemy having piled up wood to burn the city gates, the commandant surrendered. They burnt all the houses, dismantled the walls of the city, carried off three or four tenths of the inhabitants, taking the young and refusing the aged, and retired.

On the north they attacked and took Lienyunp'u. This town was protected on three sides by lofty hills, and on the

north, which looked on a plain, it was defended by a moat. The enemy built on the north side towers of seven stories for projecting stones into the town. There was only one well within the walls, and the stones in a little while choked this. They threw a flying bridge over the moat and crossing attacked energetically. The general and his people, some thousand men and women, turning to the east, wept bitterly and surrendered. This was the last remaining stronghold on the west of Chingchou, and every one waited to see whether the enemy would advance or retire after its capture. At Chingchou they dared not open the west gate, as all outside it was rebel territory. No one could go out to cut firewood, and to harvest the grain crops it was necessary to marshal troops in the night to gather them in, and as the corn was not ripe, most of the ears were empty, so that the citizens began to suffer from famine. When the T'ufan carried off the people of Lienyungp'u, the country people of Pinchou and Chingchou all fled to the mountains, with 10,000 head of oxen. The troops were removed to T'antsênchia, and wherever the enemy came within the borders of the chou of Pin, Lung, and Ching, they almost depopulated the districts. This autumn the inhabitants of these cities were famished for want of food, but the frontier generals did nothing but send reports of congratulation on the retreat of the enemy.

In the 10th month several thousand T'ufan horsemen again came to the city of Ch'angwu. Han Ch'üanyi led troops against them; he was a general of Yu Hwai, and asked the latter for reinforcements, but was refused. At sunset the enemy retreated, and Ch'üanyi also retired. From this time the rebel horsemen passed and repassed through Chingchou and Pinchou, the west gates of which they dared not open. The enemy rebuilt the walls of the ancient Yuanchou and occupied it with a large force.

The Emperor collected nearly 200 of the T'ufan captives, and had them executed in the streets to pacify the capital.

In the 4th year (788), the 5th month, over 30,000 T'ufan horsemen invaded the borders, and in separate bodies entered

the chou of Ching, Pin, Ning, Ch'ing and Fu. They burnt the offices and private houses of P'êngyuanhsien, and wherever they went set fire to the dwellings, and drove off some 30,000 head of cattle, retiring after twenty days. Hsiao Ch'üanyi led out troops from the city of Ch'angwu against them, but returned unsuccessful. Yu Huai had had no martial training, and he was besides sick and unable to rise, so that they shut up the city, and dared not come out to fight. On previous occasions, when the T'ufan invaded, they came only in the autumn and winter, returning home in the spring, when many of them were attacked by pestilence. When they came this time, the heat was at its greatest, and there was no danger of malaria; probably Chinese captives, who had been given money and land, and had their wives and children detained as hostages, acted as guides to the barbarians and secretly led them.

In the 9th month the T'ufan generals, Shanghsitunghsing and Lunmanglo, invaded Ningchou, the governor-general of which led an army against them and cut off over a hundred heads. The enemy turned to invade Fuchou and Fangchou and went away with their booty.

In the 5th year (789), the 10th month, the governor-general of Chiennan, Weikao, sent a general, Wang Yutao, and others, to accompany the Eastern Man Lianglin Tsunashih and Wutêng Mêngchung(55), who led troops to the ancient Chünchou, and at the north valley of T'aitêng inflicted a great defeat on the two T'ufan governors-general of Ch'inghai and Liehch'êng, killing the commanders-in-chief, Ch'itsangchêchê and Hsitoyangchu, and cutting off more than 2000 heads, while those who fell from precipices, or were drowned in crossing the river, were too many to be counted. They made prisoners forty-five lungkuan, captured over 10,000 pieces of material and weapons, and over 10,000 head of oxen, horses and sheep. Chêchê was a most famous warrior among the T'ufan, some said a son of Shangchiehtsan, and had been a constant danger to the borders. After his death, of all the cities and palisades attacked by the government troops, there was not one that did not succumb, and the Fan

army retreated daily, till in a few years all the territory of Chünchou was recovered.

In the 6th year (790) the T'ufan took our Peit'ing vice-royalty. Peit'ing and Anhsi(56) had borrowed a road of communication from the Huiho (Ouigours), the government reports and tribute being thus able to be forwarded. The barbarians are naturally covetous and rapacious, and want everything without exception, and the Ch'iang tribes near to Peit'ing plundered the people of their stores of clothes, material and provisions, so that they wished for death. There were 60,000 tents of the Shat'o(57) people adjacent to Peit'ing, which were also subject to the Huiho, and the Huiho never ceased from plundering them, so that they were reduced to great distress. The Kolu(58) people and the white-robed T'uchüch were on friendly terms of intercourse with the Huiho, and yet had to complain of their robberies, and consequently, when the T'ufan sent them valuable presents to bribe them, they gave in their allegiance. Thereupon the T'ufan led the Kolu and the White-robed people, and last year the united forces invaded Peit'ing. The Huiho chief minister, Chiehkanchiassü, led an army to its relief, and fought several battles, but was desperately beaten, and the T'ufan pressed the siege more fiercely. The natives of Peit'ing had suffered bitterly from the Huiho, and during the present year all the cities surrendered to the T'ufan. The Shat'o people also gave in their submission. The governor-general of Peit'ing, Yang Hsiku, having collected some 2,000 of his banner-men, fled away to Hsiehou(59). Chiehkanchiassü, having been unsuccessful, returned.

In the autumn of the 7th year (791), all the able-bodied men, amounting to between fifty and sixty thousand, tried to reconquer Peit'ing, and summoned Yang Hsiku to march with them. They were soon attacked by the T'ufan and Kolu, totally defeated, and the greater half killed. Chiehkanchiassü said with deceitful intent: "If you go with me to our sovereign's tent, we will send your Excellency back to your own court." Hsiku consented, but as soon as he arrived, he was detained instead of being sent on, and was afterwards

put to death. In consequence of this loss, Anhsi was blocked and cut off, and we knew not whether it were taken or no; only the men of Hsichou continued to defend their city. While Chiehkanchiassü was still smarting from his defeat, the Kolu followed up their victory by the conquest of the Huiho Fut'ouch'uan(60). The Huiho trembled with fear, and removed the sheep and horses of all the tribes of Hsichou to the south of the sovereign encampment to escape the enemy.

In the 8th year (792), the 4th month, the T'ufan invaded Lingchou(61), and drove away men and animals. They attacked and took the city of Shuik'ou, and advancing besieged the chou city, barricading Shuik'ou and Chihch'ü, and establishing stationary camps there. The Emperor ordered soldiers to be detached from Hotung and Chênwei to relieve the city, and sent over 3,000 soldiers of the imperial armies to garrison the two cities of Tingyuan and Huaiyuan, proceeding himself to one of the palaces to see them start. The T'ufan led their forces away.

In the 6th month several thousand T'ufan horsemen invaded Chingchou from the Ch'ingshihling, and carried off over a thousand of the local militia. As they were returning by Lienyungp'u, the commandant of the town sent out troops to attack them, and a chief general was killed.

In the 9th month, the governor-general of Hsich'uan Wei Kao besieged the T'ufan Weichou, and took prisoner the great general Luntsanjo and other chiefs, whom he sent to the capital.

In the 11th month, the governor-general of Shannan Hsitao, Yen Chên, attacked and defeated the T'ufan at Fangchou, and at Heishuip'u burnt the stores, and presented all the captive chiefs to the Emperor.

In the 9th year (793), the 2nd month, a decree was issued to wall Yenchou. The city had been demolished by the T'ufan, so that there was no place of refuge outside this barrier, Ling and Wu being too distant. On the west it bordered on Fu and Fang, which harassed the borders exceedingly, therefore the Emperor ordered the city to be rebuilt. The work was finished in twenty days, and the

Emperor ordered Hakan Sui, at the head of 5,000 soldiers, and the army of Su Yenkuang, to garrison it. The sovereign, thinking of the dangerous duty of the officers and warriors, ordered the Treasury to make liberal provision for them. He also commanded the armies of Chingyuan, Hunan and Shannan to invade T'ufan deeply, so as to divert their forces, and consequently, during the process of building the wall, the enemy did not attack the barrier. When all was completed, the citizens and country people were unanimous in praise.

The same month Wei Kao sent from Hsieh'uan captive T'ufan chiefs, war material, weapons and banners, oxen and horses, to the Emperor. When he had resolved to wall Yenchow, the sovereign ordered Kao to lead an army as a diversion to the T'ufan troops. Kao sent the chief general Tungmien Changfên from Hsishan to the southern province, and he defeated the army of T'ungho at the city Eho. The T'ufan commander-in-chief of the southern province, Lun-mangjêt (the New History adds Molungch'ihsi), at the head of an army, came to its relief, and he was also defeated, with the loss of several thousands killed and wounded. He burnt the ancient city of Singlien, and stormed over fifty fortified and walled towns.

In the 10th year (794), Mêng Yimouhsün(62), the ruler of the Nanchao Man, inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan at Shênch'uan, and sent envoys with the news of his victory, as described in the Nanchao Record.

In the 11th year (795), the 8th month, Huang Shaoch'ing attacked and took the four chou—Ch'in, Hung, Hsün, and Fei. The T'ufan generals Lunch'ijan, T'angmutsang, and Hsinolo, with their families and followers, came to offer allegiance, and in the following year they were all appointed generals of the empire.

In the 12th year (796), the 9th month, the T'ufan invaded Ch'ingchou and Huach'ihhsien, and a large number were killed and wounded.

This year Shuangchichtsai died. In the 13th year (797) the tsanp'u died, and his son Tsuchihsien succeeded.

In the 13th year (797), the 1st month, Hsing Chunya

memorialized to ask that seventy li to the west of Lungchou a city be built for a defence against the western barbarians, to be called the city of Yunghsin.

The T'ufan tsanp'u sent an envoy, Nungsohsi, with despatches, asking for a renewal of friendly relations. When the frontier generals reported this, the Sovereign, because of their wolfish nature they had repeatedly shown ingratitude for favours, and broken treaties, declined to receive the despatches, and ordered the envoy to be sent back.

On the 17th day of the 5th month the T'ufan, having penetrated the Shanmaling by three roads into Chiennan, pitched three separate camps, and in less than a month advanced their armies as far as the city of T'ai't'êng. The governor of Chünchou, Ts'ao Kaoshih, at the head of the officers and soldiers of the different armies, and the young men of the Eastern Man, with united forces engaged them, and severely defeated them from early morn to noon. They made prisoners seven chief lung officers, and killed and captured 300 men in the battle, while of the remainder more than could be counted fell to the sword and spear. They took also 500 head of horses and oxen, and 2,000 pieces of war material and weapons.

In the 14th year (798), the 10th month, the governor-general of Hsiachou, Han Ch'üanyi, defeated the T'ufan to the north-west of Yenchou.

In the 16th year (800), the 6th month, the T'ufan were defeated in Yenchou, on the Wulan Bridge.

Wei Kao took the two cities Mokung and Jung.

In the 17th year (801), the 7th month, the T'ufan invaded Yenchou, and took Linchou, killing the governor of the city. They dismantled the city walls, plundered the inhabitants, and drove off as they went away the Tanghsiang tribes. When they had got thirty miles to the west of Yenchou, they encamped their army at Hêngts'aofêng. They summoned from Yenchou the Buddhist monk Yensu, with six of his colleagues, with the message that the officer Hsü wanted to see the brethren. The T'ufan Molêchü fetched Yensu and his companions, and brought them with all speed

before a tent, their hands tied with leathern thongs, and with hair-ropes round their necks. They saw a T'ufan, young in years, over six feet high, with red beard and large eyes, who it appeared was the officer Hsü. He ordered their bonds to be loosed, seated them within the tent, and said to them: "Fear not, reverend sirs! I am by descent a man of Han, a grandson in the fifth generation of the President of the Board of Works, the Duke of Yingkuo. In consequence of the massacre of the imperial house by the Empress Wu Hou, although our ancestor Kaotsu founded his dynasty in China, his descendants have removed to foreign countries, and remained there for three generations. Although we have all accepted office and held military command, yet have we never ceased to remember our origin; but it was the only means of saving the blood of our house. This is the frontier of the Fan and Han, thirty miles farther we shall arrive at Anlêchou, and you will have no chance of returning to the east." Yensu replied: "We are solitary monks, and our relatives are aged; we entreat your pity to save our lives, and are unable to restrain our tears." He then said: "I received orders to lead an army to protect the borders, and in order to get stores and provisions, we marched over the Han frontier, and advanced gradually to the east till we came to the city of Linchou, which was undefended by troops and isolated from succour, so that we succeeded in taking it. I knew that his Excellency the governor Kuo was the descendant of a loyal minister, and was therefore anxious to save his life, but unfortunately he was killed during the confusion. A 'flying bird messenger' (mounted courier) unexpectedly arrived with the message: 'The soothsayers have reported a change in affairs, and the troops are recalled with all speed.' Therefore we are withdrawing."

At this time a decree ordered Wei Kao to despatch generals with a force of 20,000 foot and horse from Ch'êngtu, through the north and south of the western mountains by nine roads, and to advance together to attack the cities Hsichi and Laowêng, and the ancient chou of Wei, Pao, and Sung(63), for the purpose of a diversion from the northern

borders. In the 9th month Wei Kao greatly defeated the T'ufan at Yachou.

In the 18th year (802), the 1st month, the T'ufan great chief, Lunmangjê, having been made prisoner by Wei Kao, was sent to the Emperor, who gave him a house in the Ts'ungjênli to live in. Mangjê is the T'ufan Chief Minister of the Interior. In the 16th year of Chên-yuan (800), Wei Kao had successively defeated an army of over 20,000 Tufan at Lichou and Chünchou. The T'ufan then made a grand levy of warriors, entrenched them, and built boats, with the intention of secretly invading the borders. Wei Kao destroyed everything, and thereupon the T'ufan commander-in-chief and governor-general of nine cities, Yingying, the Lung officer, Matingtê (64), and eighty-seven of their chief generals, with all their people, surrendered. Matingtê was a skilful tactician, and Yingying was versed in the art of war, as well as in the hills, rivers, and formation of the ground. Whenever the T'ufan raised troops, Matingtê used to ride to the spot to consult and advise the generals, all depending on him for the plan of campaign. Now that he had been unsuccessful in the border-war, he was afraid of being punished, and made up his mind to surrender. The following year (801) over 1,000 families of the Kuan Mo and Hsieh Man, of the T'ufan city of K'unming, also gave in their allegiance. The T'ufan, seeing that their people were melting away, invaded on the north Ling and So, and took Linchou; and Wei Kao was ordered to send an expedition from Ch'êngtu as a diversion from the northern frontier. Kao thereupon appointed Ch'en P'o to lead 10,000 soldiers by the Sanch'i road; Ts'in Yaoch'ên to lead 1000 by the Lunghan Shihmên road; the commander-in-chief of Wei and Pao, and the governor of Pao and Pa, to lead 2,000 to assault the T'ufan city of Weichou; Hsing Tz'ü, with the governors of the different chou, at the head of 4,000, to advance and attack the cities of Hsichi and Laowêng; Kao T'i to lead 2,000 to invade the ancient Sungchou; and Yuan Ying to detach generals with 8,000 soldiers from the south by the Ya, Ch'iung, Li, and Chün roads. He also ordered

Wei Liangchin to take 1,300 soldiers to garrison Yachou, Lu Weiming, and the chief of the three tribes, Chao Jihchin, at the head of 3,000 soldiers, to invade and attack the cities P'utsu and P'iensung; Wang Yutao to lead 2,000 of the three tribes with Hlochinhshin to cross the Tatu River, and invade deep into T'ufan territory; Ch'ên Hsiaoyang and others, with Chunashih, the chief of the three tribes of the Kuan, Mo, and Hsieh Man, with 4,000 men, to advance and attack the cities of K'unming and Nochi.

From the 8th month till the 12th month they defeated in succession 160,000 men, carried by assault seven cities, and five fortified camps, received the submission of over 3,000 families, took 6,000 prisoners, and cut off more than 10,000 heads. Afterwards they besieged Weichou, to relieve which two armies came, and battles were fought over a thousand li. in which the T'ufan were successively defeated. The armies invading Ling and So were then drawn off and brought down to the south. The tsanp'u despatched Mangjê, the chief minister of the interior, with the appointment of military governor-general of the five provinces of the eastern border, to be generalissimo, with 100,000 men of the different barbarian people under his command, to raise the siege of Weichou. The imperial army of 10,000 men occupied a difficult pass, and lay in ambush to wait for them, while some 1,000 were sent on in front to provoke a battle. Mangjê, seeing the small number of our army, came on in pursuit with his whole force, and fell into the ambush. Our generals attacked desperately on all sides, and captured Mangjê, and the enemy was entirely dispersed.

In the 19th year (803), the 5th month, a T'ufan envoy, Iunchiajê, arrived. In the 6th month the general Hsüeh P'i was sent on a mission to the T'ufan.

In the 20th year (804), the 3rd month, within the first ten days, the tsanp'u died. The imperial court was closed for three days, and the Vice-President of the Board of Works, Chang Chien, was appointed to condole and sacrifice.

The tsanp'u who died in the 4th month of the 13th year (797) of Chênnyuan was succeeded by his eldest son, who

died one year after, when the second son succeeded to the throne.

The Emperor ordered all the civil and military officials above the third grade to condole with the envoy.

In the 4th month, the T'ufan envoys Tsang (some characters lost here) Lunch'ijan, and the Buddhist monk Nanpot'êchip'o, in all fifty-four persons, came to court. In the 12th month, their envoys, Lunhsijê and Kuochihts'ung, came to have audience.

In the 21st year (805), the 2nd month, Shuntsung appointed T'ien Chingtu to go with special credentials to T'ufan with the intelligence of the late Emperor's decease, Hsiung Chihyi being sent as assistant-envoy.

In the 7th month a T'ufan mission, headed by Lunhsino, came to court.

In the 1st year of Yungchên (805), the 10th month, the tsanp'u sent Lunch'iloup'utsang, who brought as tribute offerings for the mausoleum of Têtsung, gold and silver, robes, oxen, and horses.

In the 11th month, a mission was sent to inform them of the accession of the new Emperor, etc.

In the 1st year of Yuanho (806), the 1st month, seventeen T'ufan prisoners, sent from Fuchientao, arrived, and the Emperor ordered them to be given post-horses, and sent back to their own country. In the 6th month, their envoy Lunputsang came to court.

With 50,000 horsemen they invaded Fut'ich'uan in Chênwu, and 10,000 horsemen came to Tashihku in Fêngchou, and plundered the Huifu, who were returning to their country.

In the 5th year (810), Hsü Fu was sent as envoy to them, carrying a despatch also for the Poshanpu. The Poshanpu was a Fut'u (Buddhist) of the barbarians, who had the control of state affairs, also written Poch'êp'u. Hsü Fu went as far as Shanchou, and then came back without leave. The assistant-envoy Li Fêng carried the Emperor's commands to the tsanp'u. Fu was punished by degradation.

In the 5th year (810), the 5th month, their envoy Lunssüyajê came to court, and brought back in coffins the bodies of Chêng Shuchü and Lu Pi, as well as Wên-yen, the son of Shuchü, and others, in all thirteen persons. Shuchü and Pi were taken at the sworn ceremony at P'ingliang,

and during more than twenty years they refused to bow down in homage, and died among the Fan. At this time they asked for peace, and therefore sent them back.

In the 6th month, the Emperor ordered the minister of state, Tu Yu, and his colleagues, to consult on the question with the T'ufan envoy in one of the government halls, and they reported, recommending the return of our territory of the chou of Ch'in, Yuan, and Anlê. In the 7th month, the Emperor sent Li Ming as envoy to the T'ufan, with Wu Hui as assistant-envoy.

From the 6th to the 10th years (811-815), they sent envoys to court with tribute without intermission.

They asked for the establishment of an exchange mart at the Lungchou barrier, which was allowed by decree.

In the 12th year (817), the 4th month, a T'ufan envoy, Lunch'ijan, came to bring the news of the death of the tsanp'u. The Emperor appointed envoys to go on a mission of condolence and sacrifice.

K'olik'otsu succeeded as tsanp'u. The mission brought back with them two officers who had been taken in battle 30 years before, whom the envoy, knowing that they were not dead, sought out.

In the 13th year (818), the 10th month, the T'ufan besieged our Yuchou and Fênghsiang, presenting despatches that they were sending a mission to renew friendly relations. In the same month, the army of Lingwu, at the city of Tingyuan, defeated 20,000 T'ufan, slaying 2,000 men, taking prisoners one lieutenant-governor-general and thirty-nine officers, and capturing large numbers of sheep and horses. The commander of the P'ingliang garrison defeated an army of over 20,000, recovered the city of Yuanchou, and captured innumerable sheep and horses. The governor-general of Hsiachou also defeated an army of 3,000 at Lingwu.

In the 11th month, a despatch was received from Yenchou that the T'ufan had invaded Hloch'ü, and at Hsiachou defeated over 50,000 men, and at Lingwu destroyed Ch'anglochou and Loch'êng, and burnt the dwelling-houses, stores, and weapons.

A decree was issued to detain Lunchülitsang and his colleagues, who had been sent on a mission to the Emperor.

The governor-general of Hsich'uan took by assault the cities of Eho and Hsichi.

In the 14th year (819), the 1st month, this decree was issued: "We are endowed with rule over the myriad countries, and keep faithfully our plighted word. The western barbarians have brought tribute for a series of years, and although they have meanwhile been occasionally contumacious, we have overlooked it, and they ought not to forget our manifold virtue towards them. With language requiring several interpreters, and tribute of precious things, they travel in constant succession, and we have shown grace and hospitality to all without exception. Yesterday Fan envoys, bringing despatches, again came to our capital, and in obedience to the command of their sovereign, discussed a policy of friendly alliance. We received them in our audience hall, entertained them liberally in a hotel, rewarded them with special presents, and entrusted to them an official despatch, and they took leave. They had but just reached the suburbs, when it was reported that a swarm of ants had invaded our borders, and were carrying slaughter and confusion throughout Hoch'ü, ungrateful for our benevolence, and in violation of the treaty, conduct for which they give no pretext, and the council and the people ask unanimously that they shall be exterminated. But we grieve deeply that our virtue has not been sufficient to transform them, and how can we be angry with the want of submission of barbarians? The state has broken its faith, but these envoys are not guilty. Let them be released and given their freedom, let them be shown our grand clemency and relieved from anxiety, and when they learn our faithfulness, let them be grateful. The Fan envoy Lunchülitsang, and his colleagues, as well as the mission which came afterwards, are all to be sent back to their own country, and the governor-general of Fênghsiang is to explain clearly to them the grounds of this resolution."

In the 8th month, the T'ufan encamped at Fangch'ü in Ch'ingehou, and a large army came to the borders of Hochou.

In the 10th month, the T'ufan governor-general Lunsanno,

with the minister of state, Shangt'atsang, and the president of the council, Shangch'ihsin'rh, at the head of an army of about 150,000 men, invested our city of Yenchou in several lines. The chiefs of the Tanghsiang also led warriors to drive sheep and horses for their use. During thirty days the enemy, with flying ladders, goose-carts, and wooden mules, attacked simultaneously on four sides, and the city was well nigh lost several times. But the governor Li Wên-yueh, at the head of his officers and warriors, fought bravely on the top of the wall. When the wall was pierced, and no longer tenable, they pulled down the houses for planks to repair it, and fought in the breach day and night. When the troops came by surprise and destroyed the enemy's camp, they opened the city gates and sallied out to fight, and slew about 10,000 of the rebel army, but the soldiers sent in aid from the different provinces had not arrived. After twenty-seven days the enemy withdrew.

The governor of Shachou(65), Chou Ting, at first held it strongly for the T'ang. The tsanp'u moved his tent to the Nanshan(66), and despatched Shangch'ihsin'rh to attack it. Ting asked succour of the Huihu, but a year passed without its coming, and they deliberated on the project of burning the city, and fleeing with the troops to the east, but all agreed that this would not do. Ting ordered the commander of the troops, Yen Ch'ao, to lead a strong body out to forage for grass. He called at daybreak for a farewell visit, and engaged Chou Shanu, a confidential officer of the governor, for a shooting match. When the bows were drawn, each invited the other to shoot first. He shot Shanu and killed him, and then made the governor prisoner and strangled him, and undertook himself the government of the city. After having defended the city for eight years, they brought out silk, offering a roll in exchange for a measure of corn, and a great many took advantage of the opportunity, so that Ch'ao was rejoiced, and said: "The people all have food, and we will defend the city to death." But after two years more the provisions and war stores were all used up, and he mounted on the wall and shouted: "If you will not remove us to other lands, we offer to surrender the city." Ch'ihsin'rh consented, and he went out and surrendered. From the attack of the city to this time it was altogether eleven years. The tsanp'u appointed Ch'ihsin'rh in his place as governor, who afterwards, suspecting that Ch'ao was plotting a revolt, put poison in his boots, and killed him. The inhabitants of the city all adopted the foreign dress, and submitted to the enemy; but each year when they worshipped their ancestors, they put on their Chinese clothes, and wept bitterly as they put them by.

In the 15th year (820), the 2nd month, T'ien Ch'i was sent to T'ufan to inform them of the death of the Emperor, and also of the accession of his successor.

In the 3rd month they attacked and plundered our Ch'ingsaifêng, and invaded Chingchou, camping along the river for fifty li.

In the 7th month they sent to court a mission of condolence and sacrifice.

In the 10th month they came secretly to invade Chingchou. The Emperor appointed Liang Shouch'ien commander-in-chief, and sent him with 4,000 of the imperial troops, and all the armies of the eight garrisons, to the relief of the city; and despatched Shao T'ung as envoy with special credentials to the T'u-fan, in answer to their mission asking for a renewal of peaceful relations.

The preceding envoy to the T'u-fan was punished by being degraded to a revenue post at Liuchou. When he went to the Fan on a mission of condolence, they proposed a meeting for a sworn ceremony under the walls of Ch'angwu city. Feeble, and afraid that they would not let him return, he consented to everything; and when now the western barbarians came plundering, they said: "T'ien Ch'i agreed that we should lead troops and march to conclude a sworn treaty." He was degraded in consequence, although the barbarians were really angry for having been troubled by the frontier generals, and only used the envoy as a pretext.

The governor of Chingchou reported that the T'u-fan generals had all retired, whereupon the Emperor ordered the army to be disbanded.

From the time that T'ien Chin was made ruler of Hsiachou, he covetously and tyrannically oppressed the people, and the Tanghsiang suffered bitterly, and repeatedly led the barbarians to invade the borders, till now a large army invaded. The frontier general Ho Tz'u several times stormed and invaded the Fan fortifications and slew vast numbers. Afterwards Li Kuangyen arrived with all his army from Pinchou, and the enemy, frightened, retreated. T'ien Chin was the origin of the danger to the state, but happily Kuangyên and Ho Tz'ü drove off and slaughtered them.

In the 11th month the governor-general of Hsiachou led his troops to Ch'angts'ech'en, and the governor-general of

Lingwu led his forces to Ch'anglochow, both having received orders to attack the T'ufan.

In the 12th month, over a thousand T'ufan besieged Wupaich'ih.

In the 1st year of Ch'angch'ing (821), the 6th month, they attacked Ch'ingsip'u, on account of our having made a treaty and alliance with the Huiho(67). The governor of Yen-chou despatched troops to advance against them.

In the 9th month the T'ufan sent an envoy, Shangch'ili-t'ossü, to ask for a sworn treaty. The Emperor consented. The ministers, wishing to add weight to the affair, proposed to proclaim it in the ancestral temple; but the president of the ceremonial court memorialized: "I have respectfully referred, and find that, on the old occasions, when the Emperors Sutsung and Taitsung concluded sworn treaties with the T'ufan, neither proclaimed it in the temple, and that only Têtsung, when, at the end of the Chienchung period, he concluded a sworn treaty with the T'ufan at the Yenp'ing Gate, wishing to make the oaths more binding, specially ordered it to be proclaimed in the temple. In the 3rd year of Chên-yuan (787), when there was a meeting at P'ingliang, there is also no record of its having been proclaimed in the temple. I humbly submit that there is only one solitary instance, and that it has not been the constant practice. I have referred to the ritual statutes, in which there is also no mention of it; and now, after respectful investigation and thought, I fear that it ought not to be so proclaimed." This memorial was followed. The Emperor appointed the director of the court of revision, Lin Yuanting, as envoy, to conclude a sworn treaty with T'ufan, and the secretary of the board of war, Liu Shihlao, assistant envoy, with Li Wu and Li Kungtu as secretaries of the mission.

On the 10th day of the 10th month the sworn ceremony was performed with the T'ufan envoys, the ministers of state, the presidents of the six boards, the directors of the sacrificial worship and revenue courts, the governor of the metropolis, and one of the generals, in all ten high officials, taking part.

The text was: "The T'ang have received from heaven rule

over the eight points of the compass, and wherever their wise commands penetrate, all come to their court, and with awe and reverence, fearful of punishment for their misdeeds. Successors of Wu, and imitators of Wên, each emperor has acquired additional fame, and excelled in showing deeper wisdom, and none have failed in the glorious succession of twelve reigns, during two hundred and four years. The great founder of our dynasty issued wise commands, and his rules are not to be broken; he acquired wide-spreading fame, and it will be handed down for ever. They worship the high god and receive a favourable response; they pray to the souls of their imperial ancestors, and obtain abounding happiness; how can there be a break?

“In the cyclical year *kuei ch'ou*(68), in the winter, on the cyclical day *kuei yu*, of the 10th month of the year, the Wên-wu-hsiao-tê Huangti(69) decreed that the ministers of state, his servant Chih, his servant Po, and his servant Yuan-ying, should conclude a sworn treaty with the great general, the Fan envoy, Lunnalo, President of the Board of Rites, and his colleagues, at the capital, on an altar built in the western suburb of the city, with a pit dug on the north side of the altar. We have recited the oaths, sacrificed the victims, and buried them together with the written text, reverently ascended and descended the altar, and performed all the proper ceremonies without omission.

“Now, therefore, weapons shall be put by, and men be given rest, the bonds of kinship be honoured, and friendship re-established; the far-reaching policy has been carried out, and will produce abundant fruit. As the vault of heaven above overspreads the yellow earth below, so the swarming multitude of men look for rulers towards the ministers and high officers, for if left without leaders they would prey on and destroy each other. What the Chinese now rule shall have the T'ang as the sovereign, and the country of their western race shall have the great Fan as ruler. From this time henceforward both shall put by weapons and armour, forget their differences and old grievances, and respect the honoured kinship of their sovereigns and the ancient bonds of mutual

aid. The frontier guard-houses shall be left ungarrisoned, and the watch-fires no longer lighted ; in danger and difficulty they shall think of each other, and oppression and plunder be stopped ; the barrier stations and fortifications shall be disused and invasion and plunder shall cease. The important strong posts of defence shall be carefully kept as of old : they shall not plot against us, and we will make no preparations against them.

"Ah ! Love men with benevolence, protect your country with loyalty, worship heaven with wisdom, and serve the gods with reverence ; for if any one of these duties be neglected, it will bring down misfortune upon the body.

"The frontier mountains are lofty(70),
The River flows on unceasingly :
On a propitious day and favourable season
Have we fixed the two boundaries,
The west to belong to the great Fan,
The east to be ruled by the grand T'ang :
The great ministers, holding up the sworn treaty,
Proclaim it afar to the autumn country."

The tsanp'u of the great Fan, the state ministers, the Poch'anpu and Shangch'ihsin'rh, had sent the treaty beforehand, the important articles of which were : "The two countries Fan and Han shall keep the borders which each one now rules, and neither shall fight with nor attack the other, they shall allow no plundering raids into each other's border, nor secret plots to acquire territory. If any persons be suspected, they shall be taken alive, and their business inquired into, then they shall be given clothes and food, and sent back to their own country. All now fixed shall be followed, there shall be neither addition nor change. The officers who take part in the sworn ceremony, seventeen persons, shall all sign their names"(71).

When Liu Yuanting and his colleagues accompanied Lunnalo on his return to T'ufan to conclude the sworn treaty in their country, the Emperor commanded Yuanting on his arrival to instruct the ministers and the lesser officers all to write their names below the text of the treaty.

The governor-general of Lingwu defeated an army of 3,000 T'ufan horsemen under the T'aikushan.

In the 2nd year (822), the 2nd month, a mission despatched by them arrived to ask for a settlement of the boundaries. In the 6th month, another mission arrived at court.

The governor of Yenchou reported that over 2,000 T'ufan had invaded the borders of Lingwu, and that he had despatched troops in pursuit and chastised them. He also said that he had captured 150 T'ufan who were carrying despatches to the Tanghsiang.

The same 6th month, Liu Yuanting returned from his mission to T'ufan, and reported to the Emperor: "On the 25th day of the 4th month we arrived at the T'ufan capital (chief camp), and on the 6th day of the 5th month the sworn treaty was concluded."

Yuanting, on his first journey to and from the Fan country, on each occasion passed through Hsichou, where he had an interview with their commander-in-chief, the president of the council, Shangch'ihsin'rh (according to the New History Shangt'atsangyü), who said to him: "The Huiho is a petty state, and in the cyclical year ping shên (816), when we crossed the desert to attack them, we drove them before us till within two days' journey of their capital city, which we intended to destroy as soon as we reached it. But at this moment we received the intelligence of the death of our sovereign, and consequently returned. The Huiho being as feeble as this, how is it that the T'ang treat them more honourably than they treat us?" Yuanting replied: "The Huiho have the credit of having rescued the state when in difficulties, and, moreover, they have never robbed us of even one inch of territory. Ought we not therefore to treat them with honour?"

On the present occasion, Yuanting, on his journey to and fro, crossed the upper stream of the Yellow River,

Yuanting crossed the Huang River and came to the Lungch'uan valley, to the north-west of which he saw Shaluch'uan, the ancient fortifications of Koshu Han, of which there was still much remaining. The Huang River flows to Mêngshu, and to Lungch'uan, where it joins the Yellow River.

more than 2000 li south-west of the Hungchi Bridge(72). The water is here very shallow, and the stream narrow, so

that in the spring it can be forded, although in the summer and autumn boats are required to cross over. Some 300 li to the south of this point, there are three mountains like circular, flat-bottomed coppers in shape.

Called the Tzü (Purple) Mountains, which bound the Greater Yangt'ung(73) country. These are the ancient K'unlun Mountains. They are called by the Tibetans the Mên-moli Mountains. Ch'angan is 5000 li distant to the east.

The source of the Yellow River is in the midst of these mountains. The water is very pure and clear, but as it flows past other streams it changes to red; and afterwards, when it has been joined by more tributaries, it gradually becomes yellow and turbid.

From the source westwards to the Fan Lieh kuan (hotel) is a distance of four days' journey, each day estimated at 200 li(74). North-east of the same lies the Mohoyen Chiwei, which is 50 li broad, becoming gradually narrower and smaller towards the south. This stretches from the west of Shachou on the north, southwards into the T'uhun(75) country, till it reaches this point, where it becomes so small and narrow that it is called Chiwei (Tail of the desert). Geographically it is reckoned to be due west of Ch'iennan (Ssüch'uan).

Yuanting crossed Wuch'uan in Ch'êngchi, and came to Wuliang in Hokuang, the ancient walls of which city had not been destroyed. The country of Lanchou(76) was full of rice, peach and plum-trees, elms and willows, all of which flourished luxuriantly. The inhabitants were all men of T'ang (Chinese); and when they saw the banners and umbrellas of the envoy, they lined the road to gaze. On his arrival at the city of Lungchih(77), a thousand old men came to visit him, and weeping, asked after the welfare of the Son of Heaven, saying: "We came to this place with the army, and were lost here. To this day our sons and grandsons are unwilling to forget the T'ang dress. Does the Emperor still think of us? What day will the troops come?" When they had spoken, all broke out into loud lamentation. On secret inquiry they were found to be men of Fêngchou. He passed the city of Shihp'u(78), where precipices stand upright like walls, and the path winds and returns. The Tibetans call this Iron-sword city. On the right of the road for some tens of li the earth and rocks are all red, and the Tibetans call this the Ch'ihling(79) (Red Pass). The boundary stones, placed here by Wei, Prince of Hsinan, and by Chang Shoukuei, had both been thrown down, and only the stones erected by the Tibetans remained. Ch'ihling is three thousand and more li distant from Ch'angan, it is in the old territory of Lungyu.

Yuanting had his first interview with the tsanp'u at Mên-chülu ch'uan, where the tsanp'u had his summer residence. This valley is one hundred li south of the valley of Loso, and the Tsang River flows through it.

The country to the south-west of the Yellow River is flat, like a whetstone—an uncultivated plain, richly covered with grass, with many tamarisk and willow-trees on the banks of the river, while the mountains are covered with cypresses. The crests are crowned with sepulchral mounds, with buildings beside them plastered with red earth, on which are painted white tigers—all tombs of Tibetan nobles who had gained fame in battle. When alive they wore the tiger-skin, and it is a sign of their valour when dead; their comrades, who killed themselves at the time, lie buried alongside. He crossed the Hsiehiehlo Pass, where the rocks were cut to make a road for the carts accompanying the Princess of Chinch'êng. When the envoy reached Miku, he came to his hotel. The northern valley of the Tsang(80) River is the summer residence of the tsanp'u. His tent was surrounded by a fence of spears; and a hundred halberds, with long handles and hooked heads, stood upright, with an interval of some ten paces between them; while in the middle large flags were erected. There were three gates, each a hundred paces distant from the other. Armed warriors guarded these gates, and sorcerers recited prayers, with bird-shaped hats and tiger-girdles, beating drums the while. All comers were searched before they were allowed to enter. In the centre there was a high platform, surrounded by a circle of jewelled balusters. The tsanp'u was seated in the centre of the tent, which was ornamented with gold figures of dragons, lizards, tigers, and leopards. He was dressed in a plain cloth costume, his head enveloped in folds of bright red-coloured silk, and he was girt with a sword inlaid with gold. On his right hand stood the Poch'êp'u(81), the ministers of state being stationed below the platform. After the first arrival of the T'ang envoy, the councillor Lunhsitajê had come to negotiate the terms of the sworn treaty. There was a great feast on the right of the tent, at which the food was served and the wine passed round in much the same fashion as in China. The musicians played 'The Prince of Ch'iu defeating his enemies(82),' and also Liang-chou foreign airs and other songs; and there were a hundred games exhibited, the performers in which were all Chinamen.

The ceremonial altar was ten paces wide, and two feet high. Our envoys stood opposite the ten and more Tibetan great ministers, while over a hundred chiefs were seated below the altar. Upon the altar was placed a wooden bench, on which stood the Poch'êp'u, as he recited the sworn treaty, a man standing at his side to translate it for those below. When he had finished, the blood was smeared, but the Poch'êp'u did not smear his lips. After the conclusion of this ceremony, another oath was taken before Fut'u (Buddha), when sumbul water was poured out and drunk. Then they exchanged congratulations with the envoys, and finally descended from the altar.

As Yuanting was returning home, the Tibetan commander-in-chief, Shangt'atsang, entertained him as a guest at Tahsiach'uan(83), where he had assembled over a hundred of the governors and generals of the eastern provinces. He placed the text of the sworn treaty on the terrace, and read it through to them, and besides exhorted each to defend his own border, and not to oppress and plunder his neighbours. On the text was written 7th year of Yit'ai(84).

The T'ufan despatched a mission, headed by Lunhsinohsi, which accompanied Yuanting to court, to offer thanks. The Emperor appointed envoys to answer this mission.

This year Shangch'ihsin'rh led troops to attack the Huihu. The lesser minister of the Tanghsiang, Shaugshêta, led an army of 3,000 men, who pastured their horses at Mulanliang.

In the 3rd year (823), the first month, their envoy, Luntajê, came to court on a mission of congratulation.

In the 4th year (824), the 9th month, an envoy came to ask for a picture of Wut'aishan(85). In the 10th month, they sent tribute of yaks, and also a yak, sheep, and deer, of cast silver.

In the 1st year of Paoli (825), the 3rd month, their envoy, Shangch'ilijê, came to court, and asked also for a continuance of friendly relations. In the 9th month the Emperor appointed the Director of the Banqueting-court, Li Jui, to go on a mission in reply to the above.

During the period T'aiho, from the 5th to the 8th years (831-834), their envoys came to court with tribute, without intermission, and we also always sent missions in answer.

In the 5th year (831), the general commanding Weichou(86), Hsi't'ieh-mou, offered to surrender the city. The governor-general of Chieunan and Hsich'uan accepted, took possession of the official seals, weapons, and armour, and despatched a general to occupy it. This chou extended on the south to the Min Mountains in Chiangyang, and on the north to the Lung Mountains; the enemy called it the city of refuge, and it was a most important defence of the south-west. But Min Sêngju then ruled the state, and he decided to send back Hsi't'ieh-mou, and resign the city. The T'ufan massacred all the inhabitants, without exception, as a warning to the other barbarians. From this year their envoys came in succession on tributary missions, bringing jade girdles, gold vessels, otter skins, cloth, yak tails, red carpets, horses, sheep, and camels. The tsanp'u, during his reign of about thirty years, was sick and unable to attend to business, and the government was in the hands of the chief ministers; consequently they were unable to rival China, and the frontier guards were left at peace. After his death, his younger brother, Tamo, succeeded to the throne. Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and, besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious, so that the troubles of the state increased.

In the 1st year of K'aich'êng (836), the 2nd month, missions were sent by both countries.

In the 4th year (839), the Emperor despatched Li Chingju on a mission to the T'ufan, and they sent Launch'ijê to court with offerings of articles of jade, sheep, and horses. From this time there were earthquakes in their country, the ground opened and water-springs overflowed, the Min Mountain was overthrown, and the T'ao River flowed backwards for three days. Rats ate their corn, and the inhabitants died of hunger and pestilence, so that corpses lay one pillowed on the other. In Shau and K'uo there was heard, after nightfall, the sound of war drums, and the natives were much alarmed.

In the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang (842), the tsanp'u died. In the 12th month their envoy, Luntsanjê, and suite, arrived with the intelligence of his death, and the Emperor appointed Li Ching to condole and sacrifice.

He had no sons, and Ch'ilihu, a son of Shangyenli, the elder brother of his wife, whose name was Lin, was made tsanp'u. He was only three years old at the time, and the wife was regent of the kingdom. The chief minister Chiehtuna, when he had audience of Ch'ilihu, refused to do homage, saying: "There are many collateral descendants of the tsanp'u still living, and why should a son of the family of Lin be appointed?" and went out weeping. The adherents of the new regime killed him. Another general, Shangk'ungjê, who was the military governor of Lomênch'uan, surnamed Mo, named Nunglijê, which is equivalent to the Chinese 'lang' (a title of respect), an artful deceiver and fount of intrigue, gained over the three tribes, and got together 10,000 horsemen, with which he attacked Shangpipi, the governor-general of Shanchou, and overran the country as far as Weichou. He next fought a battle with the minister of state, Shangyüssülo, at Pohanshan. The latter was defeated and fled to Sungchou, where he collected 80,000 warriors of the Sup'i, T'u-hun, and Yangt'ung(87), and entrenched his army on the T'ao River. Shangk'ungjê issued this proclamation to the Sup'i and the rest: "The brothers of the ministers have killed the tsanp'u, and the god of heaven has commissioned me to levy righteous soldiers to chastise the wicked. Will you then help traitors who are in rebellion against their country?" The Sup'i and their allies doubted, and would not fight. Shangk'ungjê led some light horse across the river, the various tribes offered their submission, and his united army amounted to 100,000 men. Having captured Shangyüssülo, he strangled him.

Shangpipi, the governor-general of Shanchou, whose surname was Mulu, and name Tsanhsinya, a native of the Yangt'ung country, was a hereditary noble of the T'ufan. He was a man of liberal mind, and not unversed in literature and history, and was at first unwilling to take office, but the tsanp'u insisted on appointing him. Within three years, the people, in consequence of the illegal election of the tsanp'u, were all in a state of revolt. Shangk'ungjê arrogated the title of chief minister, and at the head of 200,000 warriors attacked Shangpipi, with war drums, oxen, horses, and camels, stretching over a thousand li. When he reached Chênhsichün(88), there was a great storm, with thunder and lightning, and more than ten of his officers were killed by the lightning, together with several hundreds of the sheep, horses, and camels, at which he was alarmed, and halted his troops. When Shangpipi received the intelligence, he sent valuable presents, and despatches, proposing an alliance. Shangk'ungjê was greatly rejoiced, and exclaimed: "Shangpipi is a scholar and knows nothing about war. I will declare myself tsanp'u, and will appoint him my home minister." Thereupon he led back his troops, and encamped at Tahsiach'uan. Shangpipi sent two of his generals to attack him. Having hidden 40,000 soldiers in ambush to the south of Hsichou, one of the generals, who was posted on the hill, shot down an extremely abusive letter, at which Shangk'ungjê was enraged, and came out with his best warriors to fight. The general pretended to be beaten, and they pursued him for some ten miles, until the pursuers fell into the ambushade, and were attacked

on all sides. There was a great rain storm at the time, so that the river was much swollen, and a vast number were drowned. Shang-k'ungjê rode away alone and escaped. Having failed in his projects, he became suspicious and tyrannical, and killed many of his officers; two generals surrendered to Shangpipi, and were treated generously.

The next year he again assaulted Shanchou, the governor-general of which divided his troops into five divisions, and defended it against him, till Shang-k'ungjê took refuge in Tungkushan, where he fortified himself strongly, and would not come out, until he was surrounded by several lines of stockade, and the road to water cut off. After some ten days he fled to Pohanshan, where he enlisted scattered warriors, and gathered together by degrees a few thousands, with which he fought a battle at Hochishan, and afterwards a second at Nanku, being totally defeated on both occasions. His troops fought each year, and were never disbanded.

In the spring of the 3rd year of Tachung (849), the minister Shang-k'ungjê, the governor-general of the eastern province, with three chou, Ch'in, Yuan, and Anlê, and seven fortified passes, including Shihmên and Muhsia, asked for admission at the frontier. The governor-general of Chingyuan reported this to the Emperor, who appointed the Director of the Imperial Stud, Lu Ch'ên, to proceed to welcome him.

Shangpipi encamped troops at Hoyuan, and when he heard that Shang-k'ungjê was preparing to cross the Yellow River, he hastened to attack him, but was himself defeated. He defended the bridge at the head of well-armed troops, but was again unsuccessful, and retired after having burned the bridge. Shang-k'ungjê secretly issued from the Chitungling Pass, having crossed by means of a wooden bridge, to attack Shangpipi. At Paituling he defeated one of his generals, Shangt'olot'atsang, and afterwards fought a battle at Hsiniuhsia, where he was again victorious. Shangpipi's resources were exhausted, and he led his army to the western borders of Kanchou, leaving T'opahnaikuang to defend his post, to whom many of Shang-k'ungjê's standard deserted. Shang-k'ungjê invaded deep into the chou of Shan, K'uo, Kua, Su, Yi, and Hsi, plundering and slaughtering wherever he went, till dead bodies were heaped up promiscuously, as in a wolf's lair. His adherents secretly hated him, and all wanted to get rid of him, and they clamoured to invite 500,000 T'ang warriors to unite with them to put down the disturbances. He took refuge in Weichou, and asked for the appointment of tsanp'u, sending offers of submission to the T'ang. The Emperor sent the troops of Chingyuan, Lingwu, Fênghsiang, Pinning, and Chêuwu, to meet and aid him, and as soon as he arrived despatched the minister Li Chingjang to ask what he wanted. Shang-k'ungjê was haughty and boastful, overestimating himself, and asked to be made governor-general of Ho and Wei, which the Emperor refused. He then returned across the Hsienyang Bridge, exclaiming: "I will do great things, and after having crossed this river, will make it the boundary between me and the T'ang." Then he again marched to Lomênch'uan, and collected scattered soldiers, with the intention of another raid on the frontier.

But it rained a long time, till his provisions were exhausted, and he was obliged to flee to K'uochou. Thereupon the governor-general of Fênghsiang reconquered Ch'ingshui; the governor-general of Chingyuan recovered Yuanchou, occupied Shihmên and five other fortified passes, and captured some 10,000 men and cattle; the governor-general of Lingwu took Anlêchou, which was made by decree Weichou; the governor-general of Pining recovered Hsiaokuan and Fênghsiang, and occupied Ch'inchou; and the governor-general of Shannan Hsiao gained Fuchou. The Fênghsiang troops fought with the T'ufan at Lungchou, and cut off 500 heads.

In the 7th month of this year (849), the old men of Ho and Lung led over a thousand of their men and youths up to the palace gate, and the Emperor went to one of the pavilions to review them, at which they all with one accord shouted for joy and applauded. They then loosened each other's hair, and hurried to the shops to buy hats and girdles. The Emperor ordered them to be given good land to dwell in, and the bystanders all said, "Wan sui" (Live for ever!).

The Emperor ordered the soldiers of the four provinces who had distinguished themselves to be rewarded. The fertile ground within the three chou and seven passes was given to the people to cultivate, all taxes being remitted for five years, and revenue officers were sent to the hot springs to establish custom barriers to tax the salt for the support of the borders. The soldiers of the four provinces who understood cultivation of land were given oxen and seed, while the garrisons were allowed double pay and provisions, and relieved every year. Traders and merchants were not to be stopped at the barriers. The soldiers who wished to cultivate the soil were allowed the same privileges as the people.

Originally, the Emperor T'aihsung (627-649) conquered Hsieh Jênkao, and acquired the Lungshang territory, captured Li Kuoi, and took possession of Liangchou, defeated the T'ukuhun and Kaoeh'ang, and established the four chên. When Yuantsung (713-755) succeeded, he recovered the provinces of Huangho, Chishih and Wanhsin, and no watch-fires were lighted in China for nearly thirty years. At Lunt'ai and Yiwu military colonies were established, and corn and pulse were to be seen everywhere. On the K'aiyuan Gate there was put a stone with the inscription, "The road to the farthest west 9,900 li," to show to the soldiers that there was no journey of 10,000 li. Since the period Ch'ienyuan (758-769), Lungyu, Chiennan and Hsishan, the three chou and seven fortified passes, and some three hundred camps, garrisons and strong places have all been lost. Hsientsung (806-820) examined the map of the empire, and looked at the ancient boundaries of Ho and Huang, being extremely anxious to recover them, but he had no leisure. The council of state now memorialized that the Emperor having gained fame and territory, his glory should be proclaimed to the world, for, without moving a single soldier or spilling a drop of blood, Ho and Huang had, of their own accord, submitted, and they proposed, therefore, to add to the title of honour of the Son of Heaven. The Emperor replied: "Hsientsung thought much about Ho and Huang, but his plans were not perfected when his spirit departed. It is our duty to perpetuate the fame of our ancestors, and do

you consult on an addition to the temple names of the two Emperors Shun and Hsien, so that their praise may be lauded by after-generations."

The next year (850) the governor of Shachou, Chang Yieh'ao, sent, as an offering to the Emperor, the maps of eleven chou, including Sha, Yi, Su, and Kan. Yieh'ao made a secret arrangement with a band of brave and determined men to surrender the city to the T'ang, and on the day fixed they armed themselves, and shouted at the gates of the city, the Chinese all joining them, and the barbarian guards were frightened and fled. He then took command of the city, repaired the armour and weapons, and cultivated the lands, and afterwards fought a series of battles, till all the other cities were taken. He sent in succession ten officers, with staves, inside which they carried despatches, to the north-east, to the city of T'ientê(89), the military governor of which, Li P'i, reported to the Emperor, who praised the devotion of Yieh'ao, and appointed an envoy, the bearer of a decree, to receive his submission and reward him, promoting him to be military governor of Shachou. Soon after it was made the capital of the province of Kueiyi, and he was appointed governor-general.

Afterwards the Tibetan general in command of Ho and Wei, Shangyenhsin, on account of the destruction of his country, offered to surrender, and the governor of Ch'inchou, Kuo P'ien, received the submission of this general, together with ten thousand tents of the Hunmo people. Thus these two chou were recovered, and Shangyenhsin was appointed a general in the imperial army. After P'ien had recovered this Fênglin fortified pass, he appointed Shangyenhsin commander-in-chief of the provincial troops of Ho and Wei.

In the 2nd year of Hsient'ung (861), Chang Yieh'ao brought back Liangchou to submission.

In the 7th year (866), the Huihu of Peit'ing P'ukuchün attacked and took Hsichou, and recovered the native tribes.

The governor of Shachou, Chang Ch'iyung, fought a battle with Shang-k'ungjê, and defeated him, and sent to the Emperor the war material and armour captured. The remnant of the T'ufan army invaded Pinning, the governor-general of which drove them away. Then P'ukuchün fought a great battle with the T'ufan, and cut off the head of Shang-k'ungjê, and sent it to the capital.

In the 8th year (867), Chang Yieh'ao came himself to court, and was appointed a general in the imperial army, and given a residence and land, while the Emperor made a son of his house, Weishên, governor-general of Kueiyi. He died in the 13th year (872) at Shachou, and the governor, Ts'ao Yichin, took command of the city, and was afterwards appointed governor-general of Kueiyi.

Afterwards there were great troubles throughout China, and the imperial commands were prevented from reaching. Kanchou was annexed by the Huihu, and most of the cities of Kueiyi were lost to the Hunmo, also called Wênmo, a people who were originally slaves of the T'ufan. It was the Tibetan custom, when they made war, to despatch officers of high rank, accompanied by their slaves and followers, whom they distributed through the conquered districts, to cultivate the land, and pasture herds. During the insurrection of Shang-k'ungjê these were unable to return to their country, and collected together in bands of some thousands, calling themselves Wênmo. They settled within the borders of Kan, Su, Kua, Sha, Ho, Wei, Min, K'uo, Tieh, and Tang. Those nearest to the Fan capital were the most powerful, and possessed the best horses.

NOTES.

(1) The capital of China during the T'ang Dynasty. It was called by Arabian writers of the period Kumdan, supposed by Dr. Edkins to represent the old sound of Chingch'eng, 'capital.' It is the modern Hsianfu in Shensi.

(2) Ch'iang is the general name of tribes of Tibetan race which have been settled on the west of China from the most ancient times. The character is composed of 'man' and 'sheep,' and is said by an ancient dictionary to be descriptive of their occupation as shepherds.

(3) A short-lived petty dynasty founded in 397, in the vicinity of Liangchou, by a scion of the Topa tribe of the Hsienpi, an eastern Tartar race, the same tribe to which the Emperors of the After Wei Dynasty belonged. The connexion with Tibet would seem to be a myth based only on similarity of sound.

(4) Tsanp'u is generally supposed to be the equivalent of the modern *rgyalpo*, but it seems rather to be the *tsanpo* in the treaty inscription (see Appendix). Some of the other titles are to be found in Tibetan dictionaries, as: *blon*, a magistrate, officer; *nangblon*, a minister of domestic affairs; *chepo* is great, and chung small; and *nangblon chepo* therefore chief minister of domestic affairs, etc.

(5) Sê-sê is a kind of precious stone found in the high mountains north-east of Tashkand.

(6) Lohsieh and Loso are two ways of rendering Lhasa. The stone monument, with the inscription given in the Appendix, erected in 822, still stands in front of the Ta Chao Buddhist temple in the suburbs of the present capital. The position of the Papu Valley is not so definitely fixed; it lay to the south-west of Lhasa on the other side of the Tsang River. An itinerary of the eighth century is given in the Appendix from Shanchou, the modern Hsiningfu, to the Papu Sea or Lake. The name reminds one of Paipu, used in Chinese books on Tibet for Nepal, (Tibetan Balpo).

(7) The *yuanti* is a large kind of sheep, with huge horns, perhaps the *Ovis Poli*.

(8) In the account of an invasion of Yunnan in 799, a high Tibetan officer, Yehtshuichien, an adopted son of the lately deceased sovereign Ch'ilitsan, is mentioned as surrendering to a Chinese general, when he ought to have been buried with the *tsanp'u*.

(9) The Yangt'ung first communicated with China in the year 641, when they sent envoys to the imperial court. They were divided into Lesser and Greater. The latter people were settled on the plateau to the south of Khotan, having the Lesser Yangt'ung on their west, the T'ufan on the east. Their country was 1000 li from east to west, and they numbered between 80,000 and 90,000 fighting warriors. They were a nomadic people, who plaited their hair into a queue hanging down behind, and dressed in felt and fur. Wind and snow prevailed, and ice more than ten feet thick. They had no written characters, only cut knots in sticks and tied knots in cord. The punishments were most severe. When their chiefs died, their skulls were cleft, the brains scooped out, and the space filled with pearls and jade, the abdomen cut open, the viscera removed, and replaced with pure gold, and finally a false nose of gold and teeth of silver were put on. Men were buried at the same time. Having by divination fixed a propitious day, they buried the body in a cave in some inaccessible place that no one else knew of, and many oxen, sheep, and horses were offered in sacrifice. Mourning was put off as soon as the funeral was over.

(10) The Turks, who conquered the greater part of Central Asia in the sixth century, and established a powerful empire, which was destroyed by the Ouigours, a people of the same race, in 744.

(11) The T'ukuhun were an Eastern Tartar race, who derived their name from the chief T'ukuhun, who migrated with 1,100 families towards the south-west, and settled finally in the neighbourhood of Kungch'angfu in Shensi. His descendants extended their rule westwards as far as the borders of Khotan, until their territory measured 3000 li from E. to W., 1000 li from N. to S., extending on the east as far as the modern Hsiningfu. The capital was Fussüch'eng, situated 15 li to the west of the Ch'inghai (Kokonor). Their territory was bounded on the S.W. by the Pailan, which joined the Taughsiang on the E., the Tomi on the W. They

were finally conquered by the T'ufan in the 3rd year of Lungso (663), after ruling 350 years, and their sovereign, Nohopo, with his Chinese consort and the remnant of the people, took refuge in China, and were given lands near Lingchou, where Anlêchou was founded, of which he was appointed governor.

(12) The Tanghsiang were a people of Tibetan race who first became powerful after the year 664, when the allied T'angh'ang tribes were dispersed by the Chinese. They occupied the mountainous country where the Yellow River and Yangtzu rise, being bounded on the N. by the T'ukuhun, on the S. by Ch'iang tribes called Ch'unsang, Misang, etc., and extending on the E. to Lungchou in modern Ssuchuan. They lived on their yaks, horses, asses and sheep, and had no corn, having to borrow barley from their neighbours to make a fermented drink. The son married the wives of his deceased father and uncles, and the brother his sister-in-law, and in such promiscuous connexions they were by far the worst of all barbarians, and yet there was no marriage between persons of the same tribal name. The dead bodies were burned. They had no written characters, and only arranged reeds and pieces of wood to remember the seasons. Once every three years there was a general assembly, at which they sacrificed oxen and sheep to worship heaven. During the Sin dynasty they constantly ravaged the frontier. During the T'ang, from the 3rd year of Chênkuan (629), they gradually became subject, and their tribes were divided into chou and hsien, ruled by their own chiefs, and subject to a governor-general, resident at Sungchou. They were afterwards annexed by the T'ufan. T'opa was the name of the principal tribe, from which were descended the rulers of the Hsi Hsia or Tangut kingdom, which was established in the tenth century, and ruled over Shensi and the lands of Lobnor and Kokonor, till its destruction by Genghis Khan in 1227. Tangut is the Mongolian plural (Tanggod). The name of the modern Mohammedian natives of the same districts, Tungan, comes probably from the same source.

(13) The Pailan, who were called by the T'ufan Tingling, were bounded east by the Tanghsiang, west by the Tomi. They could furnish 10,000 brave warriors who were fond of fighting and excelled in war. Their customs were similar to those of the Tanghsiang. They submitted to China in 624, and their country was made Weichou and K'ungchou. After they had been conquered by the T'ufan, their warriors were usually placed in the van of the invading armies.

(14) Now Sungpant'ing in Ssüch'uan.

(15) Chung T'ienchu, or Central India, also called Mochiat'o (Magadha). The great King Silâditya, who called himself King of Magadha, is mentioned as having sent a mission to the T'ang Emperor after his interviews with the Buddhist monk Yuanchuang, which arrived in 641, in answer to which a Chinese envoy, Li Yipiao, was sent to India. Another mission arrived with offerings of pearls, incense and p'uti (*Ficus religiosa*) trees, and Wang Yuants'ê was sent to India, the Kings of the other four divisions of which all sent tribute. At this time the King of Central India, Silâditya, died, and one of his ministers, who had usurped the government, led troops against Yuants'ê, who, having only a following of thirty horsemen, fought with them, but their arrows being soon exhausted, they were captured, the foreign troops plundering all the tribute offerings from the other countries. Yuants'ê escaped alone in the night, and fled to the T'ufan, who led 1200 well-armed warriors, together with over 7000 Nepâl horsemen, to follow Yuants'ê. He and the assistant envoy, Chiang Shihjên, led the troops of the two countries, and advanced as far as the capital of Central India, where they fought for three days in succession, and inflicted a great defeat, cutting off 3,000 heads, while some 10,000 were drowned in the river; the minister was taken, and brought back with them to the imperial capital, where they arrived in 648.

(16) It is the practice in China to erect a row of figures of military and civil officers and different kinds of animals on each side of the avenue leading to the imperial tomb. The statues of the last Ouigour king of Kach'ang, and of the sovereigns of Kuch'ê, Magadha, and of the T'ukuhun, are recorded among others as having been carved for the same occasion.

(17) The modern Hsiningfu in Kansu. The T'ufan started from Shanchou; the itinerary is given in an Appendix.

(18) The Ch'ihshui (Red River) was at this time occupied by the Black

Tanghsiang. It is the upper course of the Chinsha River, which becomes the Yangtzu. The modern name is from the Mongolian ulan, also meaning red.

(19) Pohan was a city 560 li due west of Chintzü, the modern Kuchê. The latter from the Han dynasty was the most powerful of the states of Eastern Turkestan. After its conquest by the Chinese in 648, it was made the seat of a governor-general styled the Anhsi Tuhufu, who ruled also over Yütien (Khotan), Sulé (Kashgar), and Suiyeh, a city on the southern bank of the river of the same name, which runs out of Lake Issikkul on the north of the Celestial Mountains. These four military governments were collectively called the four chên.

(20) A valley on the south of Kokonor.

(21) Wuhai (Black Sea) is probably the Kalach'ih, a lake near the source of the Nukiang.

(22) An ancient city 250 li S.W. of Shanchou, also within the borders of the modern Hsiningfu.

(23) Still has the same name, in Ssüch'uan.

(24) A chou in the south of Ssüch'uan, now Ningyuanfu.

(25) The country of the P'olomen (Brâhmana), a synonym of Central India or Magadha.

(26) After the first conquest of the four chên, the governor-generalship of Anhsi had been moved to Kaoch'ang (Turfan).

(27) A state west of Kaoch'ang, the modern Harashar.

(28) This city, called T'uwhuang during the Han, was the Kuachou of the T'ang, the modern Anhsifu.

(29) Yichou is now Hami; Hsiehou, Turfan; and Peit'ing Urumtsi.

(30) These were the ten hordes of the Western Turks, into which Hsieh Khan divided his subjects in the year 637. Five formed the left wing, ruled over by five ch'o, and occupied the country to the east of the Suiyeh River, while the other five, ruled by ssüchin, were settled on the west of the river. Ch'o and ssüchin are said to be Turkish titles of officers of high rank.

(31) There is a short account of Népâl in the T'ang History which may be quoted here. The kingdom of Nip'olo is situated to the W. of T'ufan. The natives cut their hair in a straight line level with the eyebrows, and wear earrings of bamboo or horn, and think that thus they are ornamental when they reach out to the shoulders. They use their hands in eating, having no spoons nor chopsticks, and the utensils are all made of copper. There are many merchants among them, few agriculturists. They make copper money, which has the figure of a man on the obverse, a horse and an ox on the reverse, and has no hole in the centre. Their dress is a single piece of stuff wound round the body, and they bathe several times during the day. Their houses are made of wood, the walls all carved and painted. They are fond of games of chance, and delight in trumpet blowing and beating drums. They excel in magic arts, and are clever in astrological calculations. They worship five celestial gods, and carve their images in stone. Every day they wash these gods with pure water and present offerings of cooked mutton. The king, Naling tip'o (deva), is covered with a network of strings of pearls, crystal, precious stones, coral and amber, has earrings of gold with jade pendants, and wears a Buddha carved from a precious stone. He sits on a lion throne, and within the hall, flowers and perfumes are scattered. The ministers of state and the courtiers all seat themselves on the ground, and several hundreds of armed soldiers are marshalled near as guards. Within the palace there is a tower of seven stories, roofed with copper tiles, the balustrades and thresholds, the pillars and beams, all ornamented with precious stones. On each of the four corners of this tower there is suspended a copper pipe which terminates below in a gold dragon spout, and the water from above flows down the pipes and pours out of the mouths of the dragons like so many natural fountains. When the father of Naling deva died, the throne was usurped by an uncle of the rightful claimant, who fled abroad to save his life. The T'ufan gave him refuge, and recovered his kingdom for him, and this was how he became subject to T'ufan. In the period Chênkuan (between 642-647) the envoy Li Yipiao, who was sent on a mission to India, passed on his journey through this kingdom, and Naling deva received him

most joyfully. He went with him to see the Achipochên pond, which is some twenty paces in circumference, the water of which bubbles up and boils; it neither overflows during the torrents of the rainy season, nor is it diminished when the sun is so hot that the rocks are burning and metal red hot; when anything is thrown in, clouds of smoke rise, and if a vessel of rice be put in, it is soon cooked. Afterwards, when Wang Yuants'è was plundered by the Indians, Nepâl, together with T'ufan, attacked India and gained fame.

In the 2nd year of Yunghui (661) the king, Shih-li-na-lien-to-lo, sent another mission to the imperial court with tribute.

(32) Yachou was in what is now the province of Yunnan, and was separated from Chünchou by the Chinsha Ching, which must be the Yangpi River alluded to, as the Erh Man were aboriginal tribes of Ssuch'uau. T'iench'ih is the name of the lake on which Yunnanfu now stands.

(33) K'atun is the Turkish title for the wife of the Khan.

(34) The lands on the bend of the Yellow River near the modern Kueitêt'ing. The T'ufan built two walled cities, Hungehi and Tamomên.

(35) Ashihua Kuch'olu was Khan of the Turks from 682 to 693, and frequently attacked the borders of China.

(36) Pulu is the modern Balti. At this time it was divided into two states, Greater and Lesser. The Greater Pulu is described in the T'ang History as being due west of T'ufan, contiguous to the Small Pulu, and bounded on the west by the Northern Indian State Wuch'ang (Udyâna). They sent several missions with tribute to China from the year 696, but were finally conquered by the Tibetans in 734. The Lesser Pulu was distant from Ch'angan over 9000 li, from the residence of the T'ufan tsamp'u 3000 li towards the east, and slightly south. Wuch'ang was 800 li W., Greater Puli 300 li S.E., Koshihmi (Kashmir) 500 li S., the Humi city of Solo 500 li N. In the beginning of the reign of Yuantsung, the sovereign Muchinmang came to court. One of his successors was secretly induced by the T'ufan sovereign to take one of his daughters in marriage, and more than twenty states on the north-west submitted to T'ufan, and no longer sent tribute to China. The governor-general of Anhsi sent three expeditions without success, till, in the year 747, the lieutenant-governor, Kao Hsienchih, was sent by decree. From Anhsi he went through the cities of Polman, Wushihté (Ush), and Sulé (Kashgar), climbed the Tsungling Mountains, and marched through the Pomi (Pamir) valley to Shighnan, where he divided his forces, and penetrated to Balti by three passes. He cut the bridge over the Soyi River, on which the capital was situated, so as to cut off the T'ufan, who came the next day. The Prince and his Tibetan wife were brought prisoners to the capital, where he was given a purple robe and gold girdle and appointed a general in the guards. The country was called Kueijenchun and garrisoned with 1000 men. After the first Chinese expedition to Baltistan, Mutopi, the rajah of Kashmir, sent a mission to ask for troops, saying in his letter: "From the foundation of our dynasty we have always been subjects of the celestial Khan, and obeyed the commands he has sent. We have in our country three kinds of troops, foot, horse, and elephants. Your servant, in alliance with the sovereign of Central India, has blocked the five great passes from T'ufan, so as to prevent ingress or egress, and has gained victories in battle; and if the celestial Khan will send troops, as he has done to Pulu, we can furnish provisions even for an army of 200,000. There is in our country a dragon lake named Mohopotamo, where we wish to provide an encampment for the imperial troops."

(37) Now Anhsifu.

(38) This was a most important fortress 300 li S.W. of Shanchou, and 30 li E. of the Ch'ihling Pass, on the Tibetan road which it commanded. It was founded by the T'ufan, and called "Iron-sword city," taken by the Chinese in the Hsienhêng period (670-674), but lost afterwards. It was described as surrounded on all sides by precipices, with many knife-like edges, round which the rocky path wound for more than a mile. The difficulties of the siege are related in the account of a modern campaign against the native tribes of the vicinity, when Yo Chungch'i led 20,000 troops in the year 1724, and took the stronghold by a night assault.

(39) Ch'ihling, 'The Red Hills,' are 320 li from the modern Hsiningfu, and form the boundary between the Choros and Khoit Mongolian Banners. They are described in the T'ungtien as being 30 li W. of the city of Shihp'u, deriving their name from the red colour of the earth and rocks, and as resting on the north on a high range, while on the south they join the Snowy Mountains. During the Aftor Wei Dynasty the Buddhist monk Sungyun, on his way to India, came to Ch'ihling, the boundary of the empire, 4000 li from Loyang. Kansungling is in Ssüch'uan, 30 miles north of Sungfaut'ing, the T'ang Sungchou.

(40) In Ssüch'uan, south-west of Maochou.

(41) Kolofêng was the sovereign of the Nanchao Man, a branch of the Wu (Black) Man, whence the name of Karajang, applied to their state by Marco Polo, as well as by Mohammedan writers. It was founded in Yunnan, and the capital was called Yangchüyang, the modern Talifu. There were at first six chiefs styled chao, but in the period K'aiyuan (713-741) the southern chao absorbed the other five, and conquered the neighbouring Man tribes till his territory extended to T'ufan on the N.W., to Magadha on the S.W., and to Cochin-China on the S.E. The father of Kolofêng, who was appointed Prince of Yunnan by the Emperor, fought with the T'ufan, and defeated their army. He died in 748, and his son was appointed by special decree to succeed as Prince of Yunnan. In 752, however, he revolted, and submitted to the T'ufan, who appointed him Tsau-p'u chung, with the title of Emperor of the East. Chung is 'younger brother' in the Man tongue.

(42) These were the remnant of a remarkable people of Eastern Tibet who were called the Nü Wang state, from the fact of their being ruled by a woman. They are first mentioned in the Northern History, and are more fully described in the Sui History, after they had sent envoys to the founder of that dynasty in the year 586. It is related: The people in each successive reign make a woman their prince. The surname of the sovereign is Sup'i. They build cities in the mountains with houses of many stories, the sovereign's having nine, in which there are several hundreds of female attendants, and a court is held every five days. The men have nothing to do with the government, only fight and cultivate the land. Both men and women paint their faces of many colours. They live principally by hunting, and the weather is very cold. The natural products are copper and gold ore, cinnabar, musk, yaks and two breeds of horses, in addition to salt in abundance, which they carry to India and gain much by the traffic. They have had frequent wars with the T'anghsiang and with India. When the queen dies they collect a large sum of gold money, and select from her family two clever women, of which one is made queen, the other the lesser sovereign. When a person of rank dies, they strip off the skin, and put the bones and flesh mixed with gold powder into a vase, and then bury it; after a year has passed, they put the skin into an iron vessel and bury it. At the new year they sacrifice men or offer monkeys, and when the ceremony is over, go into the mountains and pray until a bird like a hen pheasant comes and settles on the sorcerer's hand, who cuts open the crop, and if he finds inside grains of corn it will be a fruitful year, if only sand and stones, there will be famine or pestilence. This they call bird divination. During the T'ang they frequently sent tribute. The History describes them under the term Tung (Eastern) Nü state, to distinguish them from a Western people situated somewhere in the Western Ocean, according to Buddhist fable. It also gives the synonym of Sufalanachütalo (Suvāṇagôtra, which means golden family), which occurs only in the New History, and seems to be derived from Yuanchuang, who mentions this as a state S. of Kustana (Khotan), E. of Sampaha, W. of Tibet, and wrongly identifies it with the state on the E. of Tibet, which we are discussing (Julien, *Voyages de Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, vol. ii. p. 232). The boundaries of this were, on the E. Maochou in Ssüch'uan and the T'anghsiang, from which it was divided by a high mountain range; on the S.E. was Yachou, separated by the Lontü Man and the Pailang tribe. From E. to W. was nine days' journey, from S. to N. 20 days. It included over 80 cities large and small. The sovereign resides in the K'angyen Valley, through which the Jê River flows to the S., which they cross by means of ox skins. There are over 40,000 families, 10,000 warriors. They are scattered

in mountain valleys. The title of the queen is *Pinchiu*, of the female ministers of state, *Kaopuli*. The sovereign wears petticoats of black cloth and silk, and a single upper garment with collar, over which there is a black robe, the sleeves of which trail on the ground, and in winter lambskin ornamented with worked embroidery. Her hair is done up in a small braided coil with gold ornaments, she wears earrings, and has on leather boots. The sons take the surname of the mother. The written characters are the same as those of India, and the 11th Chinese month is the beginning of their year. When in mourning for father and mother, they neither comb their hair nor wash for three years, but they do not change their ordinary dress. At the burial of the sovereign several tens of the great ministers and relatives are buried at the same time. In the period *Wutê* (618-626), the queen named *T'angp'ang* first sent envoys with tribute. The Emperor liberally rewarded them and sent them back, but on their return through *Lungyu* they met the Turks invading, and were carried off to the enemy's camp, and not brought back till the conquest of the Turk Khan, when they were escorted to their own country. After this time these tribes and the adjoining people frequently sent missions, and their rulers received Chinese titles, but they were gradually broken up by the attacks of the *T'ufan*, to whom they alternately submitted, so that they came to be called by the Chinese the "Double-faced *Ch'iang*." Since the year 742, they have elected a man to be their ruler. Afterwards they were known as *Sup'i*, whose territory extended on the E. to the *Tomi*, on the W. to the *Hunanghsin* (see Appendix). Their prince *Mulingtsan* wished to join his country to the Chinese Empire, but he was killed by the *T'ufan* during the period *T'ienpao* (742-755). His son *Isino*, with his chieftains and followers, fled to *Lungyu*, the governor-general of which, *Koshu Han*, sent them with an escort through the Barrier, and the Emperor received them most honourably. Their country was annexed by the *T'ufan*.

(43) The range of mountains which extends southwards from the Yellow River and divides the modern provinces of *Kansu* and *Shensi*.

(44) *Kuo Tz'üi* (697-781). One of the most renowned among Chinese generals, and greatly distinguished by his services to four successive Emperors of the house of *T'ang* (*Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 90).

(45) A note in the original says that some characters are lost here.

(46) The Court of State Ceremonial.

(47) A Turk, who had mounted to high command in the imperial army. The Emperor gave his daughter to the *Uigour* Prince *Tengli*, who became Khan in 760, and renewed the alliance with *Huaiên* when the latter was governor-general of *Liangchou*. The *Uigours* were also a Turkish race who were originally settled on the *Orkhon* and *Selenga* Rivers, and were subject to China, but they began to invade under *Tengri Khan*. Their chief camp was on the *Orkhon* River, near the mountains of *Karakorum*. They are called at first in the *T'ang History* *Huiho*, changed in 788 at the request of the Khan to *Huihu*, which means in Chinese 'returning falcons,' an allusion to their warlike prowess.

(48) In *Shensi*, the modern *Kuyuauchou* in *P'ingliangfu*.

(49) A small river which has given its name to the modern city *Ch'ingshuihsien* in the prefecture *Kungch'angfu* in *Shensi*. The geographical description of this district city published in 1687 says, that the river is outside the western suburb, near the *Hsiao Lung Mountain*, which the governor-general of *Lungyu* made the boundary with the *T'ufan*. The district was reconquered in 847.

(50) A Chinese rebel, who gained possession of *Ch'angan*, and besieged the Emperor in *Fêngt'ien*.

(51) In *Kansu*, to the south of the angle formed by the Yellow River and the Great Wall.

(52) In the north of *Shensi*, near the Great Wall, west of the modern *Yulinfu*.

(53) The modern *P'ingliangfu* in *Shensi* is about 50 miles N.W. of *Chingchou*.

(54) *T'ukuhun*, see note 11.

(55) *Chünchou* is the modern *Ningyuanfu* in the south of the province of *Ssüch'uan*. The *Lianglin* and *Wutêng* were two of the tribes of the Eastern

Man who were scattered through the lands of Lichou, Chünchou and Jungchou in the same province. The chiefs were given Chinese titles during the period T'ienpao (742-755), but after the capture of Chünchou they fell under the rule of the T'ufan, returning, however, to their allegiance afterwards. The campaign alluded to is fully described in the record of the Man in the T'ang History, including a curious account of the way the dead body of Ch'itsangchéché was carried off by his subordinate, the governor-general of Nangkung, named Sulun. He was accompanied by a hundred men, who wept aloud as they went. He detached one man, who stood on the left hand of the corpse, and when one of them asked him: 'Are the wounds painful?' he replied: 'Yes!' and they applied medicine. Again: 'Will you eat?' 'Yes!' and they brought food. 'Will you put on clothes?' 'Yes!' and they called for fur robes. Finally, 'Will you go home?' The same man answered: 'Yes!' whereupon they stretched the dead body on a horse and departed. The Man chiefs were made princes by the Emperor and given seals, robes and girdles, and when they came to have audience later, they were banqueted in the palace and liberally rewarded, and the governors of Lichou and Chünchou were ordered to give to their tribes an annual allowance of salt, clothes and coloured silks.

(56) Peit'ing is near the modern Urumtsi, also called Tibuachou. Anhsi, the modern Kuchê, was the chief of the four chên of Eastern Turkestan.

(57) The Shat'o were a separate tribe of the Western T'uchüeh (Turks). They were settled on the south of the Chinso Mountains, in the east of the P'ulei lake (Barkul), where there is a great desert called Shat'o, from which they derived their name. After the conquest of Peit'ing the T'ufan removed them to Kanchou, and appointed their chief military commander, styling him chief lun (blon).

(58) The Kolu, also written Kololu, was another Turkish tribe situated north-west of Peit'ing. They are generally known as Karluks. The white-robed T'uchüeh were the Ten hordes of the Western Turks.

(59) Hsichou, originally Kaoch'ang, was situated near the modern Turfan.

(60) There was a city in this valley, where an army of the Western Turks camped during the Chinese campaign against Kaoch'ang in 640. It is said by some to be the city which was made T'ingchou, afterwards changed to Peit'ing; by others to have been 50 li distant from the last, which is recorded in the T'ang History to have been established in this vicinity after the conquest (cf. *Histoire générale de la Chine*, tome vi. p. 90).

(61) In Kansu, S. of the Yellow River, S.E. of Ninghsiafu.

(62) Yimouhsün succeeded his grandfather Kolofêng in 779. After his succession in alliance with the T'ufan he invaded Ssüch'uan with a vast army, which marched to Maochou and plundered the country. He was appointed by the T'ufan, Prince of Jihung. He afterwards entered into secret relations with Wei Kao, and in the first month of 794 he sent his son and chief ministers to conclude a sworn treaty with the Chinese envoys who had been despatched to his capital. The ceremony was performed at a temple on the Tientsang Mountain and four copies were made of the sworn text, of which one was kept at the temple, one sunk in the river, one preserved in the ancestral temple, and the other sent to the Son of Heaven. When the T'ufan were trying to conquer Peit'ing, they fought a great battle with the Huihu, in which they lost a vast number of killed and wounded, and they sent to demand reinforcements of 10,000 warriors from Yimouhsün, who was wishing to submit to the empire, and took advantage of the occasion to make a large levy of troops, while he alleged weakness to the T'ufan, and declared that he could only furnish 3000, which on further pressure he increased to 5000. He sent these into their country, and followed himself with several myriads, who marched double stages and surprised the T'ufan army on the Shênch'uan (now the Chinschachiang, the auriferous Brins of Marco Polo). He then cut the Iron Bridge, and thousands were drowned in the river. (The iron bridge, according to the modern descriptions of Yunnan, was 130 li to the north of Chüchinchou, where the rocks are carved into holes for the support of the iron chains, and in the winter months when the water is clear iron rings can still be seen at the bottom.) The Tufan had two military governors in this district, of Shênch'uan and of T'iehch'iao (Iron Bridge). Five T'ufan princes were taken and a vast quantity of prisoners and booty, and 16

walled cities and fortified camps captured. The Emperor sent an embassy to Yimouhsün with a gold seal inscribed 'Ch'ên yuan ts'ê Nanchao yin' inclosed in a silver box. The envoy was met at the city of Taho by the brother of the Prince, who brought sixty fine horses, all with gold bridles and jade bells, and soldiers were drawn up on each side of the way ringing bells. Yimouhsün had on gold armour, with a tiger-skin thrown over, and held a bell in each hand; he was surrounded by a thousand men, armed with long spears, and preceded by twelve large elephants, with warriors horse and foot marshalled in rank. He received the seal and patents kneeling.

(63) Sungchou is now Sungpant'ing. Weichou and Paochou within the bounds of Weikut'ing in the north of Sitch'uan.

(64) Matingtê is called in the Nanchao Record by the Chinese title of Kuoshih, 'State Preceptor,' which is the same title applied to the Buddhist Bâshpa when he was invested by Kublai Khan with the rule of Tibet. In the same record it is related that in the spring of 801 they destroyed one of the enemy's camps by cutting the bank of the Lu River in the night, and fought two battles in succession, in which the enemy was defeated and totally dispersed, and that thereupon the K'ang (Samarkand) and Heiyi Tashih (Black-robed Arabs—the Abbassides) troops with their T'ufan commander all surrendered, and that 20,000 suits of armour were captured. This is interesting as the first mention of Mohammedans in this region. Marco Polo mentions the Saracens in Yunnan, and Rashiduddin says: "All the inhabitants of Yachi are Mohammedans." Yachi being the modern Talifu, called the city of Yangchüyang during the T'ang, when it was the capital of Nanchao. The Mohammedans of this province revolted against the Chinese in 1855, and set up a chief who was called Sultan Suleiman.

(65) A city in modern Kansu, west of the Chiayükuan in the Great Wall, on the verge of the great desert, near the modern Tunkuangsien.

(66) The range of mountains N. of Kokonor.

(67) In this year a new Khan of the Ouigours succeeded, who was given the Chinese title of Tsungtê, and also a sister of the Emperor, Princess T'aiho, in marriage. The T'ufan, jealous of the honour accorded, prepared to kidnap her en route, but 20,000 mounted Ouigours arrived as escort.

(68) There is a discrepancy here in the cyclical number of the year, and probably the first character is corrupt; a change of this to hsin would give hsin ch'ou, which is the cyclical equivalent of A. D. 821. Calculation shows that November 7th of that year would be the cyclical day kwei yu. Also that the tenth moon of that year began on or about October 30th. Therefore the day kwei yu would really fall within the tenth moon. Say that this moon commenced on October 29th, which was the cyclical day chia tzü, then the day kwei yu would be exactly the 10th of the 10th month as given above. Again, reference to the "Histoire de la Chine" mentions, under the year 821, in connexion with another event, the full names of the three chief ministers of state, Tsui Chih, Tu Yuan-ying and Wang Po, whose second names only, according to custom, are given in the text.

(69) This is the title (Hui hao) of the reigning Emperor who was canonized as Mutsung, when he would have been given a more grandiloquent sacrificial title. This may be translated 'Learned, warlike, filial and virtuous Emperor.' It is the same inscribed in the Tibetan version of the treaty (see Appendix).

(70) A rhyming epilogue in eight lines of four syllables.

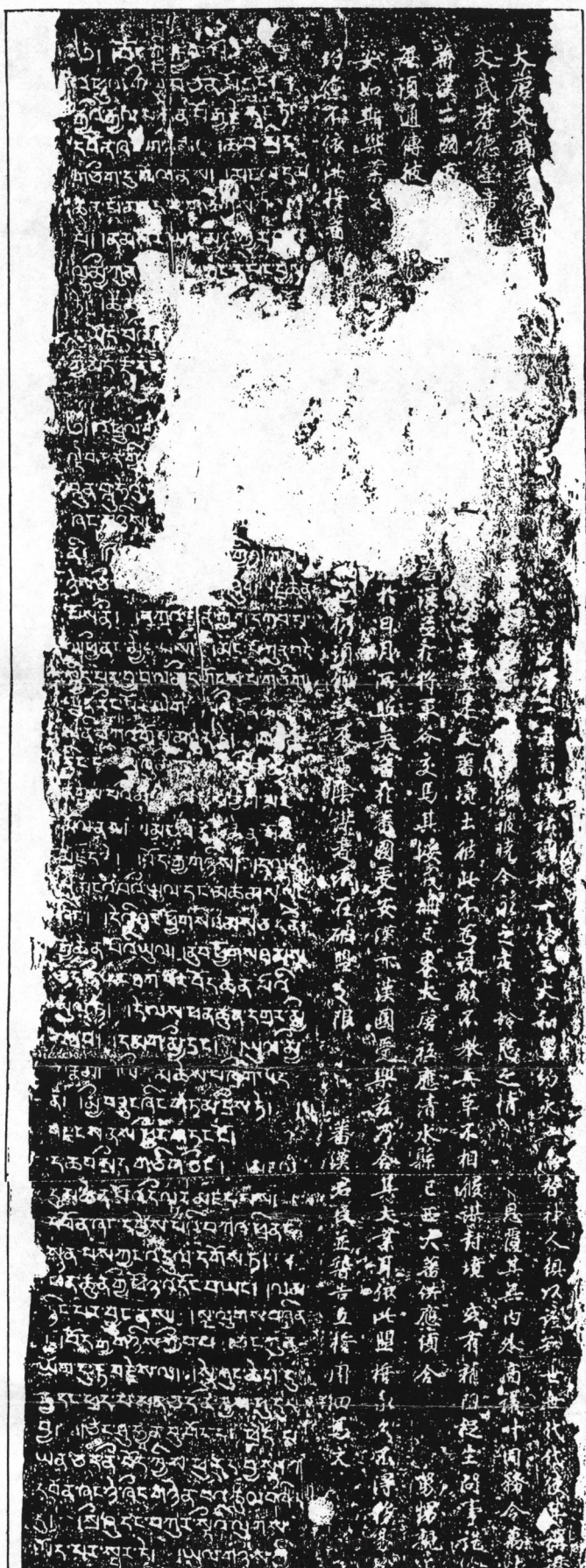
(71) The bilingual (Tibetan and Chinese) text of this treaty is given in the Appendix, from a rubbing obtained from a stone monument erected at the time, which still stands in front of one of the principal Buddhist temples at Lhasa. The names of the seventeen officials alluded to were also engraved on the northern edge of the same stone; eight of whom belonged to the state council, including the commander-in-chief of the forces and the lieutenant-commander.

(72) The Hungchi Bridge crossed the Yellow River on the N.W. of Hochou, where there was a city called Hungchi.

(73) See Note 9.

(74) The Itinerary in the Appendix has Lich yi (post-station), the distance of which from the point where the Yellow River was crossed is there 780 li.

[illegible]



大唐文武孝德皇帝

大蕃神聖贊普

舅甥二主商議社稷如一結立大和盟約永無渝替神人俱以證知世世代代使其稱

文武孝德皇帝與

聖神贊普德之黎贊陛下二聖睿哲鴻被晚今永之屯亨矜愍之情

恩覆其無内外商議叶同務令萬姓安

蕃漢二國所守現管封疆洮岷已東大唐國界已西盡是大蕃境土彼此不為殺敵不舉兵革不相侵謀封境或有猜阻捉生問事訖給

每須通傳彼此相倚一任常相往來兩路蕃漢並於將軍谷交馬其綏戎柵已東大唐祇應清水縣已西大蕃供應須合

舅甥親近

安如斯樂業之垂恩萬代則稱羨之聲遍於日月所照矣蕃於蕃國受安漢亦漢國受樂茲乃合其大業耳依此盟誓永久不得移易望

約隸不依此誓蕃漢背約破盟者來其殃禍也仍須傾覆及動陰謀者不在破盟之限

蕃漢君臣並稽告立誓周細為文

二君

一結立大和盟約永無渝替神人俱以證知世世代代使其稱讚是以盟文節目題之於碑也

之屯亨矜愍之情

恩覆其無内外商議叶同務令萬姓安泰所思如一成久遠大善再續慈親之情重申鄰好之義為此大和矣今

為殺敵不舉兵革不相侵謀封境

或有猜阻捉生問事訖給以衣糧放歸今社稷叶同如一為此大和然

舅甥相好之義善結

已東大唐祇應清水縣已西大蕃供應須合

舅甥親近之禮使其兩界烟塵不揚罔聞寇盜之名復無驚恐之患封人撤備鄉土俱

漢亦漢國受樂茲乃合其大業耳依此盟誓永久不得移易望三寶及諸賢聖日月星辰請為和證如此盟約各自契陳刑牲為盟設此文

破盟之恨

蕃漢君臣並稽告立誓周細為文

二君之驗證以官如登壇之臣敢署姓名手執如斯誓文載於王府焉

- (75) T'ukuhun, see Note 11.
 (76) Now Lanchoufu in Kansu.
 (77) A city 130 li S. of Shanchou (Hsiningfu).
 (78) See Note 38.
 (79) See Note 39.
 (80) The Sanpu River, which traverses Tibet from W. to E.
 (81) The Poch'êp'u, called in another place Poch'anp'u, would appear to have been a Buddhist, occupying an important position in the state. On one occasion the Emperor is reported to have written a special despatch to him as well as to the tsanp'u.
 (82) Prince of Ch'in was the title, before he came to the throne, of the famous T'ai-sung, the son of the founder of the T'ang dynasty.
 (83) Valley of the Tahsia River, S.W. of Hoehou in Kansu.
 (84) Yit'ai, meaning 'continuous prosperity,' must have been the title of the reign analogous to the "nien hao" of the Chinese. This is, however, the solitary instance recorded of such among the Tibetans. The reigning tsanp'u at this time was K'olik'otsu, who succeeded in the cyclical year pingshen (816). The envoys with the news of his accession came to the Emperor in the 4th month of 817.
 (85) A mountain in the province of Shansi, one of the three in China sacred to Buddhism. In the present day it is a stronghold of the Tibetan church, and covered with monasteries occupied by some two thousand lamas (cf. A Journey to Wutaishan in 1872, in Dr. Edkins' "Religion in China").
 (86) The modern Weikut'ing in Ssüch'uan.
 (87) See Notes 42, 11, 9.
 (88) The city of Hoehou, where the Chênhsichün (garrison) was established in 738.
 (89) Situated north of the great bend of the Yellow River, in the district now occupied by the Mongolian Orat tribe; the Tenduc of Marco Polo.

APPENDIX I. (WITH FACSIMILES AND RESTORATION).

These rubbings are from a stone monument which still stands in front of the large temple, within the city of Lhasa, called by the Chinese Ta-chao-sü. This temple is said to have been founded during the T'ang dynasty. The central courtyard is surrounded by pavilions of several stories and pillared central halls, the tiled roofs of which are ornamented with gold. In addition to the central figure of Sâkyamuni Buddha, it contains images of the Chinese Princess, and of her husband, the T'ufan tsanp'u, as well as of his other consort, the daughter of the King of Nepal. There are inside a myriad sacred Buddhas and an imperial throne, and incense flowers and jade cups brighten up the interior during all the four seasons. On one of the walls are painted the famous monk, Yuanchuang, with three of his disciples, searching for sacred books (Chinese Description of Tibet).

The treaty, of which this is a record, was solemnized in the 2nd year of the period Ch'angch'ing (822), on the 6th day of the 5th month (approximately May 28th Old Style). This was the 7th year of the reigning tsanp'u, who succeeded in 816. He is called

in the New T'ang History, K'olik'otsu, and is said to have reigned under the title (nien-hao) Yit'ai, which means: 'Continuous prosperity.' The Chinese description, quoted just now, says that the inscription is no longer legible. The rubbings were obtained in Peking in 1869, and were said then, from the condition of the paper, to date at least from the last century. The Chinese characters are readily decipherable, with the exception of one portion near the top, where they are completely obliterated, probably by the impact of ladders. This has been filled up from Chinese books, especially the great geography of the empire. The characters so borrowed are distinguished by being written in red. Unfortunately these versions, which all differ from each other, are not exact copies of the original, although they give the sense. They are the source of the two translations already published in Europe by the Jesuit Père Amiot, and the Russian Archimandrite Hyacinthe. The Chinese is a translation of the Tibetan original. I have translated mainly from the former, being more familiar with it, and having, moreover, the assistance of a competent native scholar.

"The learned, warlike, filial, and virtuous Emperor of the Great T'ang, and the divine and all-wise Tsanp'u of the Great Fan(*a*), two sovereigns allied as father and son-in-law(*b*), having consulted to unite the gods of the land, and of grain, have concluded a sworn treaty of grand alliance, which shall never be lost nor changed. Gods and men have been called as witnesses, and, in order that all ages and generations may resound in praise, the sworn text, section by section, has been engraved on a stone monument(*c*).

"The learned, warlike, filial, and virtuous Emperor, and the divine and all-wise Tsanp'u, Tê-chih-li-tsan(*d*), their all-wise Majesties, with intuitive wisdom reaching far, and knowing both present and future, good and evil, with feelings of benevolent pity and imperial grace overspreading all, without distinction of native and foreign, have negotiated an alliance, and resolved to give to the myriad families peace and prosperity, and with like thought have completed a long, lasting, good deed. They have re-connected the bonds of affectionate kinship, strengthened anew the right policy of neighbourly friendship, and made this great peace.

"The two countries, Fan and Han, keeping the lands and boundaries which they now rule: all to the east(*e*) shall be within the borders of the great T'ang, all to the west shall be the territory of the great Fan. Neither the one nor the other shall slaughter or

fight, they shall not move weapons or armour, nor shall they plot to encroach on each other's territory.

"Should any men be liable to suspicion, they shall be taken alive, and their business inquired into, after which they shall be given clothes and food, and sent back to their own country.

"Now the gods of the land, and of grain, have been united to make this great peace, yet to keep up the good relationship of father and son-in-law, there must be constant communication. The one shall rely on the other, and constantly send envoys to and fro. Both Fan and Han shall change horses at the Chiangchün Pass, and to the east of the Suiyung Barrier the great T'ang shall provide for the missions, while to the west of the city of Ch'ingshui(*f*), the great Fan shall entertain them. They shall both be treated with due ceremony, according to the near relationship of the imperial father and son-in-law, so that within the two borders neither smoke nor dust shall rise, no word of invasion or plunder shall be heard, and there shall be no longer anxious fear and trembling. The frontier guards shall be dismissed, and the land have perfect quiet in consequence of this joyful event.

"Their grace shall be handed down to ten thousand generations, and sounds of grateful praise shall extend to wherever the sun and moon shine. The Fan shall be at peace in the Fan country, the Han also shall be joyful in the Han country, and this is truly a great deed of good augury. They shall keep their sworn oaths, and there shall never be any change.

"They have looked up to the three precious ones, to all the holy saints, to the sun, moon, stars, and planets, and begged them to be their witnesses(*g*). A sworn treaty like this, each one has severally written and exposed, having sacrificed the victims for the sworn ceremony, and ratified this text. Should they not keep these oaths, and either Fan or Han disregard the treaty, and break the sworn agreement, may there come to them misfortune and calamity! Provided only that the work of rebels against the state, or secret plotters, shall not be included as a breach of the sworn ceremony.

"The Fan and Han sovereigns and ministers(*h*) have all bowed down and solemnly made oath, and carefully drawn up the written documents. The witnesses of the two sovereigns, the officers who ascended the altar, have reverently written their names below, and the sworn treaty like this has been deposited in the royal treasury."

NOTES TO APPENDIX I.

(a) The beginning of the Tibetan is ཨ།པོ་བྱི་ཁུ་པོ་ཆོན་པོ་འབྲུལ་གུལ་
བཙན་པོ་དང། ཁྱ་ཁི་ཁུ་པོ་ཆོན་པོ་ཁྱ་རྩེ་རྟེད་དེ། Bod, the equivalent of the

Chinese Fan, properly read Po, is still the native name of Tibet, and Rgya the name they apply to China. The title of the great rgyal-po, tsan-po, appears to be the equivalent of the Chinese tsan-p'u, which is explained to mean champion or hero (Note 4), which agrees with the corresponding adjective defined as firm, strong. The title of the Chinese Emperor is 'Lord of China, Hsüang-te' (now Huang-ti). The blank space in the original is a sign of respect before the names of sovereigns.

(b) Dhon zhang may mean uncle and nephew, like the Chinese equivalents.

(c) The stone monument called pei in Chinese is a large oblong slab, which is usually erected on the back of a tortoise; it is in Tibetan རྩ་རིང་།

(d) The title of the Emperor (see Note 69) is rendered phonetically, not translated, in the Tibetan. The Chinese title of the Tibetan sovereign is unfortunately a blank in the rubbing, and the Tibetan is only partially legible: ལྷེ་བཙན་བྱི།

(e) The versions in Chinese books give here 'to the east of T'ao and Min,' the names of two cities in the south of Kansu, which I have omitted in the translation, as there is no mention of them in the Tibetan text.

(f) Ch'ingshuihsien, in Tibetan ཅང་ཤུ་རྩུན་ (see Note 49).

(g) This paragraph is interesting as indicating the objects of worship of the Tibetans at this time. The three precious objects of Buddhist faith are Buddha, Dharma (the law), and Saṅgha (the priesthood); the expression is literally rendered in the Tibetan རོ་ཀོན་གསུམ་; འཕགས་པ་ is defined as a title of honour for male saints, and men of genius and learning.

(h) Sovereign and minister; in Chinese, chün ch'ên; in Tibetan, རྩ་མོན་།

APPENDIX II.

Itinerary from the T'ang History(1).

From Shan-ch'êng-hsien(2), where there is the Ho-yuan-chün (garrison), to Lin-fan-ch'êng	W.	60
From Lin-fan-ch'êng to the Pai-shui-chün in Sui-jung-ch'êng	W.	60
From Sui-jung-ch'êng to Ting-jung-ch'êng	S.W.	60
From Ting-jung-ch'êng, across the bed of a mountain torrent, to the T'ien-wei-chün, which was established in the old city Shih-p'u-ch'êng(3), in the 17th year of K'ai-yuan		

(729), and first called Chên-wu-chün, lost to the T'ufan in 741, re-conquered in the 8th year of T'ien-pao (749), when its name was changed	S.	7
From T'ien-wei-chün to the Ch'ih-ling(4) (Red Range), to the west of which is the T'ufan boundary monument of the period K'ai-yuan	W.	20
From Chên-wu-chün, through the Wei-ch'ih Valley, past the K'u-pa-hai(5), and the wooden palisade of Wang Hiao-chieh(6) to Mo-li-yi(7)		90
From Mo-li-yi, past Kung-chu Fo-t'ang(8), and Ta-fei-ch'uan to Na-lu-yi, the T'ukuhun(9) boundary.....		280
From Na-lu-yi, past Nuanch'uan (Hot springs), and Lieh-mo-hai, to the crossing over the Yellow River.....		440
From the Yellow River to Chung-lung-yi		470
From Chung-lung-yi, across the Hsi-yueh River, to the western boundary of the Tomi(10) country		210
From the Tomi boundary, over the Hsi-niu(11) River, which is crossed by a cane bridge to Lieh-yi		100
From Lieh-yi, past Shih-t'ang, T'u-fan-ts'un (Tibetan village), over the Chieh-chih Bridge, where two rocks stand opposite each other on the north and south, then along the Chieh-chih Valley to P'o-yi, where the Ta-yueh River is crossed by a bridge of creepers		440
From the Ta-yueh River, past the T'an-ch'ih and Yü-ch'ih (lakes), to Hsi-no-lo-yi		530
From Hsi-no-lo-yi, over a bridge across the Ch'i-liang-ning River, and a bridge over the Ta-su River to Hu-mang-yi. To this place the Princess always sends envoys to meet and welcome the Chinese envoys on their way to Tibet.		320
From Hu-mang-yi, through the Hu-mang-hsia(12) (Pass) for over ten li, where two opposite mountain precipices are spanned by a small bridge, and there are three waterfalls, where the water flows as if poured out of large vases, so that below all is smoke and mist, to Yeh-ma-yi		100
From Yeh-ma-yi (Wild horse station), through T'ufan cultivated fields, and past Lo-ch'iao-t'ang, to Ho-ch'uan-yi		400
From Ho-ch'uan-yi, past the Shu-ch'ên-hai (lake), to Ka-pu-lan-yi, beside which are the San-lo-ku Mountains, where the snow remains unmelted		130
From Ka-pu-lan-yi to the T'u-lu-chi-yi. When the T'ang		

mission arrives here, the tsanp'u always sends envoys to welcome them	60
From T'u-lu-chi-yi, through the Liu-ku (Willow Valley), where, at the hamlet of Mang-pu-chih, there is a hot spring which springs up to a height of twenty feet, surrounded by clouds of smoke, in which rice can be boiled; then past the T'ang-lo-yeh-yi Mountains, the place where the tsanp'u worships the gods, to Nung-ko-yi	250
Lo-hsieh (Lhasa) is situated to the south-east, 200 li distant from Nung-ko-yi. When the T'ang mission arrives here, the T'ufan ministers of state have always sent envoys to await them	
From Nung-ko-yi, past Yen-ch'ih (Salt lake), and Nuan-ch'uan (Warm springs), and the Chiang-pu-ling River to the crossing over the Chiang-chi River	110
From the Chiang-chi River, through T'ufan cultivated fields, to Tsu-ko-yi, where the Tsang River is crossed.....	260
From Tsu-ko-yi, past Fo-t'ang (Buddhist temple), to Puling-yi, where the mission is lodged in the Hung-lu-kuan(13)	180
The Residence of the tsanp'u is reached, to the south-west of which is the Pa-pu-hai(14).	

NOTES TO APPENDIX II.

(1) This itinerary is extracted from the geographical section of the T'ang History, where it is given under Shanchou, the modern Hsiningfu. One of the principal routes of the present day to Tibet starts from the same city, and is laid down on the large atlas of the Chinese Empire. It runs S.E. of the Lake Kokonor, crosses the Yellow R. near its source, afterwards the upper stream of the Yangtzü called Murus Ussu, next the Sok R. and the Kara Ussu affluents of the R. Nu or Salwin, then between the Tengri Lake and Lhasa, S.W. to the Sanpu R., and finally across that river to Shikatse (Teshu Lambo) (cf. Klapproth, *Description du Tibet*, p. 262). This route would appear to be mainly identical with the above, although the names of the places are all changed, but the whole country is almost completely unknown. The route of Abbé Huc to Lhasa, and of Prejevalsky to the Murus Ussu, were both to the W. There is no mention of the date of the itinerary; but, from internal evidence, it must have been between 734, when the Ch'ihling boundary monument was erected, and 741, when the Princess of Chinch'eng died.

(2) Shanch'enghsien was one of the district cities of Shanchou, situated 120 li to the W. It was founded in 677, and garrisoned with 14,000 troops.

(3) See Note 38.

(4) See Note 39.

(5) The K'upahai was also called Pohai (p. 4), in the T'ukuhun Record Poliang, there being a bridge across.

(6) The general who defeated the T'ufan and reconquered the four chên in 692.

(7) Yi means a post-station.

(8) Princess' Buddhist temple.

(9) See Note 11.

(10) Also written Tangmi, bounded W. by the Sup'i, E. by the Pailan (Note 13).

(11) Hsiniu means yak. This is the modern Murus Ussu.

(12) The western boundary of the Sup'i state (Note 42). From the cane bridge over the Yak R. to this pass, for 1400 li, the road lay through the territory of this people, who were ruled by female sovereigns and ministers up to the year 742. This pass was mistaken by Klaproth for the name of a separate people or state (see *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, Atlas).

(13) The Hunglukuan would be analogous to the Chinese Hunglussü, the court of state ceremonial, for the entertainment of foreign missions.

(14) Papu hai (sea or lake) might possibly be applied to a river. The Residence of the tsanp'u is said in another place to be in the Papu ch'uan (valley). The river which runs through the valley in which Teshu Lumbo is situated, and joins the Sanpu near Shikatse, is called the Tang R., and one of its affluents Shapu R. A Chinese commentator gets triumphantly over the difficulty by saying that Chashih Lunpu pronounced rapidly would be Papu !